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FBIS-EEU-96-017 *25 January 1996*

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Albania: Berisha Welcomes Hungarian Delegation, Goncz

AU2401181496 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian President Arpad Goncz arrived in Tirana at noon today at the head of a high-ranking delegation. On his three-day official visit, President Goncz is accompanied by the agriculture minister, secretaries of state, and a large group of businessmen. At Rinas airport, Albanian President Sali Berisha and Mrs. Berisha welcomed Hungarian President Goncz and his wife.

[Begin Berisha recording] I consider this to be a culminating event in the century-long history of friendship that binds Albania and Hungary and Albanians and Hungarians. This is a historic event in our friendly relations. I am very happy to welcome President Goncz in Albania today. I also welcome him on behalf of the entire Albanian people. [end recording]

[Begin Goncz recording in English, fading into Albanian translation] This is my first visit, President Goncz stated just after his arrival. I have come to a friendly country and I am very happy about this, he added. [end recording]

The Hungarian delegation later greeted the other Tirana top authorities, People's Assembly Deputy Chairmen Malasi and Vukaj, and government members Serreqi, Zhulali, Halili, and Laco.

The official talks between the two delegations, presided over by Berisha and Goncz, started at the presidency at 1500.

Several agreements are also expected to be signed. On this occasion, both presidents have planned a brief meeting with the Albanian media and Hungarian correspondents who accompanied the delegation during their visit to Albania.

Albania: Socialist Party 'Condemns' TV 'Censorship'

AU2401181796 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Jan 96 p 2

[Letter to Bardhyl Pollo, general director of Albanian Radio-Television, and Qemal Sakajeva, director of Albanian Television, from the Socialist Party Presidium in Tirana on 23 January: "Censorship, Typical Sign of Television's Subordination to Political Power—Protest by the Socialist Party Presidium"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 22 January, Albanian Radio-Television journalist Marash Marashi sought an interview with Socialist Party [PS] General Secretary Gramoz Ruci in connection with the survey organized by the U.S. Republican Institute. Mr. Ruci replied to the questions of the television journalist candidly and carefully, expressing his opinions about this public opinion poll. However, PS general secretary's interview was censored in an illegal and dishonest manner. Without any excuse and in contravention of the etiquette of debate, an important part of Mr. Gramoz Ruci's interview, in which he described the acute economic and social problems that concerned those polled and which are a concern of all Albanians, was not broadcast on purpose by the television. Nor did the television broadcast his view of the opinion expressed by those polled about the direction of the country's development, in which 73 percent of those asked supported the development of Albania on the path of democracy and the rule of law.

The PS firmly condemns this censorship as an illegal act, a violation of freedom of expression, and a restriction of the largest Albanian opposition party's scope for communication. On other occasions, too, the television has shown itself to be against the PS, very one-sided and tendentious in broadcasting antigovernmental views, and irresponsible in its broadcasts of many attacks and slanders aimed by the opposition against the PS [as published]. This attitude is a serious violation of the status of the television and its impartiality, a typical sign of television's subordination to a form of rule that threatens democracy, pluralism, and the unity of the Albanians.

While denouncing once more this biased behavior and these serious violations of the statute of Albanian Radio-Television, the PS calls for a rigorous, punctilious, professional, and courteous enforcement of the law on the status of television approved by the parliament. This becomes even more urgent now that Albania is heading toward new parliamentary elections.

Presidium of the PS, Tirana, 23 January 1996.

Albania: Elezi Denies 'Connection' to U.S. Poll

AU2401184096 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 24 Jan 96 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Mehmet Elezi, director of the Strategic Studies Institute, and Albanian Television interview with Mr. Dickinson of the U.S. Republican Institute, places and dates not given: "Time of Deception"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Among its articles of 23 January, KOHA JONE published an article entitled "Mehmet Elezi's American Poll," attributing the results of the questionnaires to

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Elezi. The newspaper also said that Teuta Starova compiled the questions in the poll. This is what Mehmet Elezi has to say on that:

[Elezi] First of all, I would like to say what a great compliment they are unwittingly paying the institute I direct when they attribute the results of the poll to it and describe it as of such a caliber that the Republican Institute, the most prestigious institute in the United States, seeks its cooperation. We hope that this compliment will turn into a reality. As for your question, I first became aware of the data of the U.S. Republican Institute in the press, like all other Albanians, and I want to say that I have never in my life met either Mr. Dickinson, whom I respect, or any other member of the institute's staff. I saw Mr. Dickinson for the first time when he gave an interview on television, and everything I know about this institute comes from what I have read in the press. I have no connection with this poll.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Meanwhile, Dickinson spoke to Albanian Television, and was asked, as a representative of the U.S. Republican Institute in Tirana, whether the institute had carried out the recent poll published in Albania.

[Dickinson] First I want to say that yesterday's article in KOHA JONE is not true. The International Republican Institute carried out this survey.

[Albanian Television] Was Mr. Mehmet Elezi the author of this poll or a participant in it?

[Dickinson] We must be quite clear. We did not work with Mr. Mehmet Elezi or his institute.

[Albanian Television] Did Mrs. Teuta Starova compile some questions in the poll?

[Dickinson] We alone compiled the questions, and we alone processed the results.

[Albanian Television] Finally, did you deliver the figures of the completed poll to the political parties?

[Dickinson] We gave our results directly to all the political parties, and it is up to them to publish them or not.

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Bulgaria: Military Cooperation Plan Signed With Turkey

AU2501075796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Today, the leader of a visiting official Turkish military delegation, General [name indistinct], and Gen. Petko Prokopiev, first deputy chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, signed a plan for military cooperation in 1996. The plan includes 35 joint activities, including the exchange of visits at the highest level, holding of joint military exercises, and exchange of experience on matters relating to the training and education of the two armies' units.

Bulgaria: Zhelev, Pavlov, Totomirov View Army Budget

AU2401184996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, President Zhelyu Zhelev invited Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov and General Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, to a meeting. We hold such meetings periodically, the defense minister said, and today we discussed the state of the army and the funding allocated to it in the 1996 national budget. The amount of money provided is quite inadequate, Minister Pavlov said. It will be enough for the servicemen's pay, rations, and clothing, but the lack of money will affect the army's technical condition and its rearmament and modernization.

According to Gen. Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Army General Staff, the lack of funding for the army will have a negative effect on training and combat capability.

At today's meeting, the participants also discussed our country's participation in the postwar reconstruction of former Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria: Deputy Transport Minister 'Dismissed'

AU2401163396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kharalan Kharalanov has been dismissed from the post of deputy transport minister on the grounds of inefficiency in carrying out his duties and violation of the Law on Competition.

Bulgaria: Council Assesses National Security Issues

AU2501075896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At its meeting today, the National Security Service held a conference to assess the state of the work on defending Bulgaria's national security in 1995. Interior Minister Nachev took part in the talks, the Interior Ministry press center reports.

The council outlined the main tasks in improving coordination and cooperation with the other law-and-order and protection organs. During the talks, stress was laid on the need to adopt measures to guarantee security, counteract organized crime, detect cases of corruption, prevent illegal migration, and combat other problems, the Interior Ministry press release states.

Bulgaria: Cabinet Proposals Regarding Incomes Policy

AU2401151696 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Report by Varshava Maksimova]

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's meeting of the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov explained the main thrust of the government's social policy for this year. The document states the cabinets specific intentions concerning incomes policy in the material production and public sectors, reforms in social insurance and promoting employment, and the work of the tripartite council.

The cabinet proposes to repeal the regulation on controlling wages in companies that produce positive financial results, that report net growth, and that are free of debts.

In the public sector, the proposals include a 50-60 percent increase in doctors' salaries from 1 July, and a 25 percent pay rise for teachers from 1 April. The wage compensation mechanism is to be finalized later, in consultation with the tripartite council.

After receiving the government's offer today, the social partners in the tripartite council will inform the leaders of their head offices and unions and announce their viewpoints on the 1996 incomes policy proposals, which are to be the subject of further discussions in the council.

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Czech Republic: Klaus on EU, Economic Reform

BR2401151996 Milan IL SOLE-24 ORE in Italian 24 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Attilio Geroni in Rome; date not given: "Klaus: 'We Are Ready for the EU'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Geroni] *Why have you chosen to present your formal application to join the EU during Italy's term as president, Prime Minister?*

[Klaus] It is more than a coincidence. We did it on purpose. We wanted the step to be more than an empty gesture. We have taken it at a time when we feel confident of being able to join. Maybe it really is a coincidence that our application is being made under the Italian presidency, but the timing was not left to chance. We have avoided competing with others about who is the first to apply.

[Geroni] What meaning does "feeling confident of being able to join" have for you?

[Klaus] First and foremost, it means that when we join we do not intend to present ourselves as a weak, unready partner to be regarded with suspicion. We want to be in a position to demonstrate our economic, political, and social stability. For example, our political maturity is comparable with that of other Western countries and, indeed, greater than some. As far as the economic aspect is concerned, we have now reached the posttransformatin phase. I do not mean to say that I, as prime minister, and my finance minister are facing the same problems as the prime ministers and finance ministers of Italy, Portugal, France, and Denmark rather than those faced by our opposite numbers in Ukraine, Moldova, and Bulgaria. To take just one parameter, inflation is now down to 7.99 percent. Does any place else in East Europe have a comparable rate? I would say that we are already in the European area. Indeed, some people have hinted to me that we are only a stone's throw away.

[Geroni] When do you think the Czech Republic will be ready to join, and when will the EU be ready to allow it to enter?

[Klaus] I can answer that easily, at least from the qualitiative viewpoint: We will definitely be ready before the European Union itself. From the quantitative viewpoint, as regards timing, I do not know. I prefer to follow the advice of U.S. movie producer Goldwyn, who advised everyone against making forecasts, especially forecasts about the future. I am a pragmatist, I am trying to do first things first, and the first thing for me is to set the negotiations in motion after the Intergovernmental Conference.

[Geroni] You have never concealed your wariness regarding Maastricht. What is it that you do not like about the notion of monetary union?

[Klaus] Speaking as an economist and not as a prime minister, there is a part of economic science that describes the idea as an optimum monetary area, and the Europe of the Fifteen does not represent such an area by definition. When such an area does not exist, a single currency can be nailed onto it from on high by political decisions or pressures. This makes it possible. But the questions that need asking are: Is it useful? Can it help resolve problems and create a situation of stability? I do not think the monetary union solution would provide affirmative answers to my questions. Italy has not managed to stay within the European Monetary System from 1992 until the present day, although it is much broader and more flexible than EMU [Economic and Monetary Union]. So I ask myself how it could be capable of staying in a monetary union tomorrow. This is not to criticize Italy, just to state a simple fact. To put it in a nutshell, that optimum monetary area calls for a homogeneity that is lacking among the Fifteen. However, I am so fond of the diversity that is a feature of the European countries that their lack of homogeneity bothers me not one bit. The single currency should only be a means, not an end. And it is right to wonder if, as such, it will be capable of contributing to public well-being. As an end in itself, it may be irrational: I can fight, make sacrifices, and put myself on the line for an end but not for a means, which must perforce be rational, a matter for discussion. The principle that emerges is that of the possible irrationality of an end as opposed to the necessary rationality of the means of achieving it.

[Geroni] You are the only one of the leaders in Central and East Europe to belong to a right-wing, liberal-conservative political force. How do you feel about that?

[Klaus] I am perfectly happy and at ease about it, so much so that I can say that political developments in the countries concerned will not affect the Czech Republic. At most, they may serve as a warning. In my opinion, the West underrates the election victories by figures such as Horn and Kwasniewski, seeing them merely as wins by the postcommunists. As I see them, they mean the defeat of the right-wing forces, which have failed to create a political platform. In no other country has a force like the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), to which I belong, been created. We always invite to our conferences, which we hold in the fall, representatives of the British, Chirac's, and Aznar's Spanish conservatives. I would like to invite someone from Poland and Hungary along, too, but I cannot because there is no one there.

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[Geroni] Your government has shown great skill in getting a large part of state property privatized rapidly. Nevertheless, it is widely held that you have skipped the restructuring stage.

[Klaus] I do not see it as a major problem. We just did not want a state official to have the job of restructuring the firms. If the process takes a fairly long time, I regard that as being of secondary importance. As I said before, ours is an economy that has embarked on the posttransformation stage.

[Geroni] What is the hardest part of this stage?

[Klaus] There is a package of reforms, not a part. However, I can tell you which is definitely not the hardest part. It is the process of adjustment to the legislative framework of the European Union, which began in our country six years ago, is still under way, and is evolving rapidly. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: CSSD Sets Out Economic Policy

AU2401174596 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Jan 96 p 3

[Article by Martin Manak: "CSSD Favors Referendum on NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the economic part of its election program based on the "society of education, participation, and solidarity" theses adopted at the Bohumin congress last year, the CSSD endorses the social market economy. It allows for a temporary budget deficit of up to 3 percent of the GDP and proposes the introduction of an import surcharge on consumer goods, which is intended "to reinforce the position of domestic capital." "We are not after an increase in tax tariffs but do not intend to reduce them prematurely, either," the program reads. The social democrats intend to reorganize the tax system by, among other things, selective temporary reliefs, "which would support exports and investments and reduce the tendency particularly toward prestige and wasteful consumption." The program sets the "full convertibility of the Czech koruna and a gradual reduction of the exchange rate according to purchasing power" as the objective of its monetary policy. The goal of CSSD housing policy is "to overcome the crisis in housing construction, housing speculation, and the difficulties facing young people in securing a roof over their heads, and jeopardizing housing for the elderly." The party rejects the "factually wrong, socially insensitive, and continuous increases in rent, which are the policy of the present government." The CSSD intends to advocate tax relief for investors in housing construction. It also intends to make housing saving plans and mortgages more advantageous. The motion by one of the delegates to adjust rents according to family income was rejected.

"We are not addressing fraud or those who have become rich by abusing their position. On the contrary, in the event of our election victory, they are to be prosecuted," the CSSD election program states in conclusion.

Czech Republic: CSSD T ying To Attract Left Radicals

AU2401181596 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Jan 96 p 6

[Commentary by Jiri Leschtina: "Referendum on NATO Is a Gamble"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the CSSD [Czech Social Democratic Party] election program is in many aspects reminiscent of the prescriptions of the European Social Democrats, the strict demand for a referendum on joining NATO by Zeman's party is a very "non-European" act. In this part of the program, the CSSD wandered off to dangerous proximity of the communist party and its offspring formations, which are the only groupings calling for a general vote in connection with NATO.

As opposed to the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, however, the Social Democrats support our endeavors to join the North Atlantic alliance. So, why do they then insist on the referendum? If we really see NATO as a respected association defending freedom and democracy, it is rather absurd to ask the citizen whether he wants to take part in such a defense of democracy and thereby best protect the freedom of his own country.

The persistent insistence on a referendum could complicate our operative admission into NATO in the event of a deteriorating international situation. Even in time of peace, however, a truly open campaign on the state's security strategy is unimaginable because far too many classified facts are involved here. In the end, the citizen would have to depend on his intuition or the demagoguery of the politicians rather than on detailed information.

Entry into NATO is a highly specialized affair of the Army. Only the initiated politicians, who received the mandate to do so in the elections, can make a competent decision about entry. It is no accident that a binding referendum on joining NATO has been conducted only in one coastal country—Spain. To ask for something similar in the center of Europe, in the very intersection of power interests, is a gamble.

Nevertheless, Zeman's party enshrined the referendum on NATO in the program in a desperate attempt to

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regain the support of left radicals. The CSSD ceased to exist for these radicals, however, at the time it clearly endorsed entry into NATO. On the contrary, the referendum is likely to deter other voters, who have been impressed so far by the principled stand of the CSSD regarding this issue.

A responsible opposition can be recognized by how high it can rise above the party roofs in the interest of the security of the country. From this point of view, the CSSD demand for a referendum is more like a free-fall.

Czech Republic: ODS Accused of Mafia Sponsorship

AU2401181696 Prague CESKY TYDENIK in Czech 23-25 Jan 96 No 110, p 1

[Article by Lubor Kohout and Jan T. Vavra: "Among the ODS Sponsors Were Also the Russian Mafiosos From U Holubu; The ODS and the CSSD Have Had 'Black' Bank Accounts Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] has been accepting financial contributions from various sponsors without entering them in the annual returns. CESKY TYDENIK learned this from a completely reliable source—one of the deputies of this party, who is interested in having the ODS make its financing more open. The funds have been frequently brought in cash by various people directly to the ODS Main Office, where former Executive Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak personally accepted them. He was in charge of raising funds for the party. Among these sponsors were the owners of the Prague restaurant and game arcade U Holubu, managed by director Anatoliy Katriche [known for a failed police raid and alleged Russian mafia ownership]. At the same time, Petr Cermak is one of the politicians (Justice Minister Jiri Novak is another), whose photographs taken on the premises of U Holubu have been exhibited in the restaurant. Of course, neither of them admitted any contact with the Ukrainian or Russian mafiosos and falsely claimed the restaurant visit to be an accident because they had no idea who owns it.

Katriche, who carries an Israeli passport, is considered by the police to be one of the bosses of one branch of the Ukrainian mafia. According to Deputy Police President Jan Zatorsky, he maintained, among other things, close contacts with the former agent and later staff officer of the communist StB [State Security] intelligence, Minarik, who was to help him with organizing a media campaign condemning the police intervention executed on 31 May last year against a mafia get-together. In the U Holubu restaurant, representatives of the Moscow so-called Solntsevo mafia allegedly met to celebrate a birthday of the aide-de-camp of its boss, Averin, together with representatives of the Ukrainian Solomon branch of the mafia, who were to be led by the branch boss, Mogylevych, who was allegedly to be assassinated there. In the end, however, Mogylevych did not come to the restaurant.

The BLESK tabloid correspondent D.S., for instance, was to participate in this campaign. The so-called Charlie Kasal, who until recently has been preparing one of the least popular programs, the (Czech-made award-winning!?) Charlie Talk Show, also tried to lobby for Kartriche. Kartriche's stay in the Czech Republic has now been banned by a police decision.

The Civic Democratic Party also violated the Foreign Currency Law, in effect until July 1995, according to which neither natural nor legal persons were permitted to have bank accounts abroad. The ODS had, however, in violation of the law, foreign currency accounts, into which it deposited gifts from foreign contributors, in the FRG, for instance, and later used this "black" money to finance some "sensitive matters." Foreign accounts were held, however, also by the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD]. This party has not admitted the existence of such accounts, either, and never transferred the funds deposited on them to the domestic banks. The government and opposition parties evidently do not differ much from one another.

Petr Cermak was in charge of party financing at the ODS Main Office until the fall of 1995, although he has not held the post of executive deputy chairman since December 1994, when he failed to be elected at the Karlovy Vary congress.

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Slovakia: Meciar on Ukraine's Efforts To Join CEFTA

LD2401183096 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A two-day informal working meeting of the representatives of the Slovak and Ukrainian Governments ended in the High Tatras yesterday. The meeting focused first and foremost on present and future economic cooperation, which was also the main topic of the concluding news briefing held at Poprad Airport last night. The briefing was attended by [Slovak and Ukrainian] Prime Ministers Vladimir Meciar and Yevhen Marchuk.

Pavol Sveton compiled highlights from the news briefing.

[Begin recording] [Sveton] The two prime ministers said they were satisfied with the course and outcome of the talks between their governments. Afterwards, Meciar answered journalists' questions about economic cooperation and the integration of the two countries into the European economic structures. He said, among other things:

[Meciar] We have supported Ukraine's admission to the Council of Europe and its admission to the Central European Initiative. We have agreed to consult each other about foreign policy issues in connection with the integration efforts in Europe as a whole, in particular in connection with some problems in Central Europe but especially in connection with the Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA]. The Slovak Republic is a country presiding over CEFTA in 1996, and our intention is to win all potential candidates for the idea of European cooperation. Our cooperation with Ukraine is more than promising in this respect.

One of the conditions required for CEFTA admission is that agreements are concluded. To speed up this process, the Slovak Republic is determined to conclude a free-trade agreement with Ukraine and vice versa. The two prime ministers set a task in the protocol today that work on drafting this treaty should begin immediately. The fact is that this work has already begun but still has to be completed.

[Sveton] The Ukrainian side regards the free-trade-zone agreement as a priority issue because, with Slovakia's help, it would open up gates to Western markets for Ukraine. In this context, Vladimir Meciar outlined the following:

[Meciar] The Czechs say that the condition for concluding this agreement is that Ukraine be admitted to the World Trade Organization. We believe that this admission will be without problems and that is why it is possible to work without any problems on drafting the free-trade-zone agreement.

We have set a task that all obstacles should be removed as soon as possible and the agreement prepared. The timing of this task will be made more specific after the meeting between the governors of national banks and the representatives of commercial banks scheduled for February. This meeting will be followed by the meeting of representatives of privatization funds and businessmen, which will take place in Slovakia. These two meetings will tell us how quickly we will be able to switch to developing a capital market, although this issue is still open.

[Sveton] Journalists asked: Many joint Slovak-Ukrainian plans are already acquiring specific form. Are there still other plans deserving more attention?

[Meciar] I ought to say that there are still areas that we have not touched because the scope of what is being done is extremely broad. But, from the viewpoint of importance, I regard the launching of work on the issues of payments relations and capital market as of virtually (?utmost importance). In third place, in my view, is the throughput capacity of our border crossings. [passage omitted]

[Sveton] Some journalists and observers said that the issue of cooperation between the Slovak Republic and Ukraine in [arms] conversion and further development of the military-industrial complex had unexpectedly arisen during the governments' talks in the High Tatras. What are the reasons the two partners have for pursuing this type of cooperation?

[Meciar] This issue will have to be discussed because it does not mean that we are going to manufacture the same arms, the same range of arms, as we did in the past. The reason is that both economies are bearing the brunt of the armament industry's demise, which is causing high unemployment and idling of the manufacturing potential. We shall have to find an answer to the question of what to do to revive engineering production. No arms program has been agreed upon yet. Although the potential of the two countries is high, it is clear to everyone that it is impossible to renew it in its initial extent nowadays.

The reason for our asking these question was to discuss the impact of arms conversion and to exchange experience in seeking solutions to the situation caused by arms conversion.

It should be said that this is an exceptionally difficult social problem that has had unusually grave effect on such countries as Ukraine and Slovakia, where the

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majority of the engineering industry was involved solely in arms production. If we manage to revitalize the engineering industry, the Slovak Republic will resolve its unemployment problem and will manage to create a GDP higher than 10 percent. However, we shall not be able to carry out this task in 1996. [end recording]

Slovakia: Meciar on Treaty Ratification, Kovac

AU2401173496 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Jan 96 p 6

[Report by TASR: "Vladimir Meciar for DPA: Despite the Fact That Michal Kovac Is Our President, We Are Achieving Outstanding Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn—Slovak Parliament will ratify the Slovak-Hungarian basic interstate treaty by the end of March, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar promised in an interview for the German DPA news agency in Bonn on Saturday [20 January].

Meciar explained the delay thus far in the ratification with the wish of his government to also obtain the opposition's consent, which had until December rejected the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, already ratified by the Hungarian parliament. "The treaty will be ratified by the end of March at the latest; that is the last deadline," Vladimir Meciar confirmed. The prime minister qualified as unjustified the complaints of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, whose rights are above standard, in his opinion. Some representatives of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia in reality want something else; they want to establish autonomy and later annex this territory to Hungary. That is what we want to prevent," Meciar said, stressing that he is not taking a stand against human rights in this way.

Regarding the continuing dispute with Slovak President Michal Kovac, the prime minister said that this issue is not felt to be a "dominant problem" in his country. However, he expects the president not to cast doubt on democratization and not to spread untrue statements about Slovakia's foreign policy orientation. According to his words, Michal Kovac is seeking support abroad because he has not found it in Slovakia.

As the prime minister went on to say, this is inflicting damage on the Slovak Republic's integration into European institutions and is polarizing Slovak society. It is, however, a personal problem rather than a crisis of institutions: "Despite the fact that he is our president, we are achieving outstanding results."

The Slovak Government chief rejected the criticism of there not being sufficient democracy in Slovakia. As he stressed, several European commissions have confirmed the democratic direction of the Slovak Republic, in which there exists a parliamentary majority system and where human rights and freedom of speech are guaranteed.

In conclusion, the Slovak prime minister emphasized his conviction that the Slovak Republic would find its path to the EU and NATO. Meeting the appropriate conditions must be decided by facts: "The decision on integration cannot be made on the basis of propaganda but on the basis of the truth," Meciar said. "We want to get into that club and they will accept us."

Slovakia: Meciar Says 3d Demarche Not Being Prepared

AU2401154396 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Jan 96 p 1

[Report by CTK and TASR: "Vladimir Me[illegible] Third Demarche Is Not Being Prepared"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bonn—On 20 January, at the close of his two-day stay in Bonn, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar voiced satisfaction with the results of his talks in the FRG. He said that participation in the international Bertelsmann Forum allowed him to exchange views informally with many leading world politicians and also provided an opportunity for some official negotiations, all of which were very useful, if for no other reason than because "Slovakia does not suffer from an excess of international contacts." Meciar described as very positive his talks with Klaus Kinkel, German minister of foreign affairs, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, and Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state. In this context, he said that he frequently had to refute information, according to which democracy is endangered in Slovakia, and pointed out that "we ourselves are mostly to blame for such speculations, which are harmful for us because most of them are coming directly from Slovakia." He stressed, however, that Western politicians had assured him during the talks in Bonn that no third demarche is being prepared. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Meciar's 'International Isolation' Analyzed

AU2401172596 Bratislava SME in Slovak 19 Jan 96 p 6

[Article by Ivan Kuhn: "About Slovakia's Positive Image in the World and the True Image of Foreign Policy in Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In November 1995 Aleksander Kwasniewski was elected president of the Republic of Poland, in late December he was inaugurated, and as early as 9 January he paid an official visit to Germany,

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which was soon followed by an official visit to the French Republic. At his expressed request, his first foreign trips as president took him precisely to these two important European countries. Kwasniewski then proceeded to the seat of NATO and the EU—to Brussels. What is even more important, however, is that at all of these places he was received at the highest level—by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Federal President Roman Herzog, by French President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppe, and, most recently, by Belgian King Albert II, Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, and NATO Secretary General Javier Solana. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar can only dream about something like that. In spite of all assurances by representatives of Slovak diplomacy that the Slovak Republic is accepted abroad as a serious partner, it is becoming increasingly evident that our government team and the prime minister, in particular, have found themselves in growing international isolation.

Eastern Trips

Of the 24 foreign trips made by Vladimir Meciar last year, only eight were official visits. The others were all working trips. For laymen, the difference may not be large, but subtle diplomatic terminology conceals significantly different contents. Moreover, only two of the official visits were to the West—one to Portugal, which, while it is a member of the EU and NATO, does not play any major role in either organization, and the second to France, to sign the Stability Pact. On this occasion Meciar signed with great pomp the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty, the very treaty that the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], in which Meciar's coalition has a comfortable majority, was not able to ratify in the 10 months since its signing. While the prime minister interfered with extraordinary vigor in the process of the treaty's drafting so that it could be signed at the aforesaid meeting in Paris and so he could reap the ovations of important European politicians, he displayed no similar vigor to get the treaty ratified. There is no doubt that this ostrich policy of burying one's head in the sand and dodging responsibility for the fate of the treaty did not escape the attention of foreign diplomats accredited to Slovakia, who surely informed their superiors accurately about the whole matter. Not even a thousand journalists, whether "good Slovak" or "evil anti-Slovak" ones, can change anything about this. The Slovak Information Agency, with its budget of 100 million korunas, will be of no help either (incidentally, would it not be wiser to spend this money, with a view to improving Slovakia's image in the world, on building our missions abroad? Not to mention the fact that it is high time to fill with competent people vacant ambassadorial posts, such as the one in Italy, which currently chairs the EU). However, foreign policy is mostly homemade, and the country's positive image abroad, too, is being built, first and foremost, at home.

Coalition Government For, Slovak National Party [SNS] and Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] Against

One of the basic mainstays of any country's positive image is the trustworthiness of its political representation. How can a government be trustworthy for foreign partners that declares in its program interest in EU and NATO integration, while the key representatives of two of the three political entities making up the coalition permanently feed the public various statements casting doubt on this orientation or even attacking our prospective Western partners? When we add to this the fact that the prime minister visits Moscow almost more often than Kosice, the lukewarm attitude by leading representatives of important Western countries toward the Slovak prime minister and the government as a whole becomes comprehensible. A result thereof is the fact that, with the exception of Pope John Paul II, not a single head of state paid an official visit to Slovakia last year. Well, the Christian maxim "We forgive those who trespass against us" does not quite apply to politicians. And a diplomatic faux pas such as the once-divorced Vladimir Meciar managed to pull off, when, during his audience with the Holy Father, the patron of the family, he was accompanied by, instead of his wife, the director of his Secretariat [Anna Nagyova], usually boomerangs in foreign policy.

Unfortunately, the domestic political boomerangs that Prime Minister Meciar keeps hurling at his domestic critics in the form of calls for the president's resignation, questioning the Democratic Union's mandates, or the endeavor to silence the opposition and the independent media by passing the law on the protection of the Republic are backfiring against Slovakia as a whole, for example, in the form of Helmut Kohl's speeches, in which, when enumerating the most serious candidates for EU and NATO membership, he "forgets" to mention our country with iron regularity, to say nothing of the undeclared, yet all too evident, boycott of our prime minister. Not even during Vladimir Meciar's coming visit to Bonn is a meeting with the German chancellor planned. How much talk was there in 1992 that only as an independent state could we be an equal partner for other European countries, whereas, if we remained part of the federation, we would have to make do with lower administrative entities as partners. Today, three years after the establishment of independent Slovakia, Prime Minister Meciar is glad when he can meet the minister-presidents of the German federal laender.

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"Strategic Position"

Why did I, in fact, start with Kwasniewski? The fact that, in the short time since his election, he has been invited to visit by the highest representatives of two countries playing a key role in the EU and NATO testifies to the significance being attributed in the West to our northern neighbor. Our politicians should finally recover from the raving about Slovakia's "strategic position" in the center of Europe (by the way, you would be surprised where you would find the center of Europe, depending upon whether you asked a German, an Irishman, a Greek, a Finn, or a Portuguese to locate it) and about the West accepting us eagerly, because of this "strategic position," even if we had a dictatorship. A cursory glance at the map of the part of Europe we call central is enough for it to become clear that the strategic country in this region is Poland, in view of the size of its territory, its position (between united Germany and the divided former Soviet Union), and its population. As a matter of fact, even the Czech Republic must become reconciled to this, and the Czech Government's foreign political activities in relation to Poland over the past few months indicate that the Czechs have finally grasped the real situation and are quickly adapting to it. The sooner our highest representatives wake up from their 19th century style of national romanticism, the better for us. Otherwise, our "strategically situated country in the heart of Europe" could turn into an open-air museum of bygone days on the periphery of united Europe. And not even Education Minister Eva Slavkovska's attendance at the conference of ministers of education of southern Asia will get us out of this mess.

Slovakia: FOCUS Poll on Foreign Policy Orientation

AU2401154996 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by "r": "Almost One-Half of Slovakia's Population Supports Entry Into NATO and the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The FOCUS agency conducted a representative public opinion poll from 1 to 11 December 1995, involving a sample of 1,004 respondents representative of the adult population of Slovakia. The results are shown below.

Slovakia is an EU associate member. However, of late there have been discussions on whether Slovakia should not change its foreign policy. Which of the following orientations do you consider to be the most correct for our country's successful development?

	Percent
Slovakia should seek EU and NATO membership	49.7
Slovakia should orient itself toward alliance with the Russian Federation and its political and security structures	3.0
Slovakia should not join any organization; it should pursue its own path	27.1
Other replies	2.8
Do not know/Have not thought about this	17.4

Approximately one-half of respondents support Slovakia's integration into Western structures. Supporters of Slovakia's "own path" constitute more than one-fourth [of respondents]. Only 3 percent of respondents prefer political and security orientation toward the Russian Federation. Relatively high (17.4 percent) is the proportion of respondents who are unable to assume a position.

Where is Slovakia really heading, in your opinion?	
Slovakia is heading toward the EU	29.8
Slovakia is moving closer to Russia	19.3
Slovakia is going its own way	19.7
Other replies	6.8
Do not know/Have not thought about this	24.4

As a comparison of the two tables shows that the feeling is fairly widespread among respondents that Slovakia's actual foreign policy orientation deviates from the one they themselves consider to be the most correct. Only 29.8 percent of respondents have the feeling that Slovakia is heading toward the EU, although 49.7 percent desire such an orientation. On the other hand, 19.3 percent voiced the fear that Slovakia is moving closer to Russia, although only 3.0 percent of respondents desire this. The view that Slovakia is going its own way was expressed by 19.7 percent of respondents, although it would be the wish of 27.1 percent. Slovakia's real foreign policy orientation is unclear to as many as 24.4 percent of respondents.

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Slovakia: High-Ranking SIS Delegation Visits Moscow

AU2401155296 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Jan 96 p 1

[Report by "pt": "Slovak Information Service Leadership Visited Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—A group of 11 members of the Slovak Information Service (SIS), with SIS Director Ivan Lexa at their head, visited Moscow from 9 to 11 January 1996. The delegation included the directors of the first (intelligence) and second (counterintelligence) administrations. According to a high-ranking source, members of the Slovak secret service did not use the Interior Ministry's government jet to fly to Moscow because information about this intention had been published in the daily SME before their departure. This is why the 11-person group of SIS members, which consisted of senior personnel, departed for Moscow in a Slovak Army aircraft. Official representatives of Western intelligence services operating in Bratislava regard cooperation between the SIS leadership and Moscow as a personal success of Valeriy Zarubin, a member of the Russian special service. Zarubin, an employee of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Bratislava, is at the same time the official representative of the Russian intelligence service in the Slovak Republic.

Slovakia: Neutrality Advocates Organize, Pick Chairman

AU2401154196 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 96 p 3

[Report by "sk": "Neutrality of the Slovak Republic Does Not Mean Isolation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—The constituent General Assembly of the Association of Neutrality Advocates [Asociacia Stupencov Neutrality] (ASN) was held in Bratislava on 20 January. In an introductory speech, Professor Stefan Murin rejected the proclaimed view that the Slovak Republic's NATO membership is the only adequate security guarantee. Participants in the discussion welcomed Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk's recent statement that Euroskepticism is a fully legitimate attitude in democratic Europe. They criticized the rash pulling [vtahovanie] of East European countries into the North Atlantic alliance, which, according to their words, will arouse jealousy among individual candidates for NATO membership. They also highlighted the risk resulting from the possible stationing of nuclear weapons on our territory. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Party Deputy Bartolomej Kunc stressed that the idea of neutrality can assert itself only when it comes to be perceived as an all-national value and will not be fraught with ideological and party interests. The participants at the meeting rejected the view that neutrality automatically means isolation of the state. They called for the creation of a zone of nonaligned countries, which should become an integral and legitimate part of the Pan-European security system. Professor Jaroslav Celko was elected ASN chairman.

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Hungary: Russian Treatment of Chechen Crisis Assessed

AU2301155796 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jan 96 p 3

[Editorial by Gabor Miklos: "On the Language of Guns"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pervomayskoye delivered a strong blow to the opponents of Hungary's NATO membership. This happened to everyone who has regarded the vision of a neutral Hungary as achievable. Not only local antiterrorist actions take place in the Caucasus.

The demolishing of this Caucasus village was not a chapter in the ancient Russian-Chechen feud. It is also almost secondary that Boris Yeltsin started his presidential reelection campaign by trying to overcome his communist and nationalist challengers on the right this time, with empire arguments and imperialistic attitude. We are witnessing the renewal of the Russian imperialistic practices. And this justifiably alarms the Central Europeans. Memories are still fresh. Aware of the Russian tsar's imperialist drive to the East (and West), the political thinkers of the Hungarian reform age chose to follow the European center. Unfortunately always too late, the best of these political thinkers realized that the Hungarian interests can only be implemented together with the democratic forces of the neighboring nations, and there is no Hungarian self-interest opposing the neighbors. As early as that time, the anti-Hungarian nationalist trends cast their eyes to the Eastern empire.

In Pervomayskoye, Boris Yeltsin showed that human life does not mean anything to the empire. He showed that he can only speak the language of guns and he is not interested in the world that could see the showdown on live television broadcast. It is possible, however, that the disheveled Russian society receives this firmness well. The international community can now acknowledge the rebirth of an old Russia. The idea that the post-Soviet Russia is a country just like all the others is invalid at the moment. However, those who demolished the aforementioned Caucasus village will remain part of the international order and also important economic partners.

But our region has reason to be cautious. Central Europe can be afraid because what happened in the Caucasus can also mean that the Kremlin regards the loss of its zones of influence as only temporary. They now made order in the recognized territory of the Russian Federation. Nevertheless, this is alarming because international security can only exist if every participant observes certain civilization rules, also on their own territory. International security relies on international confidence.

Such events make a delusion out of the beautiful concept of a neutral Hungary. The recent events in the Caucasus represent a tragedy for the victims and a defeat for the Russian democracy. This was a blow to Russia's friends and on the idea of a Central Europe free of foreign troops.

Hungary: IFOR Unit To Leave for Croatia 30-31 Jan

LD2501114196 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian peacekeepers [Implementation Force, IFOR unit] will leave Hungary for their base in the Croatian town of Okucani in two groups on 30-31 January. This was announced by Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti after his visit to the advance group, which is currently building the camp.

He also said that a seven-strong U.S. signal unit will also join the Hungarians. They will maintain communications between the United States and the Hungarian units.

weather has delayed the handover of the camp by a few days, therefore the soldiers can only move in on 1 February.

Hungary: Refugees Continue To Arrive at Borders

AU2401185596 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 Jan 96 p 4

[Correspondent's report: "The Wave of Refugees Arriving in Hungary Is Not Diminishing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Counterfeit documents and people-smuggling are the most frequent crimes in the everyday life of the Hungarian Republic's Border Police. According to Colonel Istvan Szoke, chief of Border Surveillance, we cannot expect considerable change this year either in the regions that cause illegal migration, and, thus, the flow of refugees to West Europe through Hungary will continue, including the closely related smuggling of people. The smuggling gangs operating in Hungary are becoming increasingly organized. So far, their discovery has proved to be a futile struggle.

One of the regions that spawns illegal migration is made up of countries where a middle class has failed to materialize so far. Since the collapse of the bipolar world order and the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the socialist world order, some countries have been engaged in this these days, with arms even, if

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necessary. Intensified economic problems represent the other main reason for migration. Developed countries are developing faster than Third World countries, for example. The economic gap between the two groups has become considerably deeper.

According to Border Police leaders, in the best case, migration and people-smuggling to West Europe through Hungary will remain at the same level as in 1995, but it might also increase. Border Police officials pay special attention to eight regions.

In the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, the situations of eastern Slavonia and Bosnia are not settled. Restoring Croatian sovereignty over eastern Slavonia could even occur by force this year. The peacekeepers are settling into the Bosnian fronts for a minimum of one year, but the crisis will definitely not be solved in 1996. It is also a question of what direction the 1.5 million people, who were driven away their homes during the four years of war, will take: will they be repatriated to their former homes or will they emigrate to other countries? The migration of people from Bosnia to West Europe might again take place this year and some of the people who received refugee status in Hungary might not be willing to return home, either. Territorial arrangements are expected to move tens of thousands of people in Sarajevo or Mostar. The intensifying national and ethnic tensions in Kosovo and Vojvodina could lead to a new wave of migration. The Bosnians who fled to Serbia are still living in camps.

The migration of young men from Romania continues, because the situation there does not yet enable prosperity. Most people carrying out illegal work in Hungary will continue to be Romanian citizens who speak Hungarian, and we can only combat this phenomenon through police means.

The Turkish influence in smuggling people from Romania to Hungary increased in 1995. A series of truck stops and restaurants from Brasov to the Hungarian border are now owned by Turks. People are migrating from the Turkish region for three reasons. Attempts are made to regulate the more than 15 million Kurds living on the territory of four countries in the region by means of regular armed forces. For economic reasons, the Turks form the biggest group of employees in West Europe. There is a considerable amount of crime-oriented Turkish migration, and their main areas are drug smuggling and people smuggling.

For religious and national minority reasons, a wave of refugees is expected from the successor Islamic states of the former Soviet Union, but Border Police leaders do not expect a similar flow of refugees from Russia or Ukraine. They expect Chinese, Vietnamese, and Afghan refugees from this area, people driven by economic difficulties and smuggled to the West by smuggling networks operated by their compatriots living in Russia and Ukraine.

As a result of the confrontation between secular and fundamentalist Islam, migration from Arab countries increased in 1995. The Singalese-Tamil war continues in Sri Lanka. The 17 refugees found suffocated in the container area of a truck near Gyor in July 1995 were Tamil refugees. Well-trained professionals from the Philippines are greatly interested in West Europe, but there is not much readiness to accept them there. People are literally fleeing from hunger areas like Bangladesh. National minority confrontation only exacerbates all this in some African countries like Ruanda.

The illegal movement of prostitutes from East Europe toward West Europe is a separate subject. Organized gangs "export" girls from Russia, Ukraine, Romania, and the Baltic states partly to Hungary and partly to Italy, Austria, and Germany. They arrive legally, without visas, to Hungary and then continue with false documents or across the green border. Border Police officials are aware of the great demand for child prostitution in West Europe, and they can only hope that the prostitute market does not turn into such a market in Hungary, too.

The Hungarian border police caught 132 people smugglers in 1994 and 285 of them in 1995, mostly by making use of the state support given to them for their fight against the black economy. Officials say that the people smugglers are more organized than before. In 1995, 181 people were proved to be involved in people smuggling, but they themselves did not smuggle anyone. The number of undiscovered people smuggling cases is about 30 percent higher than the number of discovered ones.

The main directions of people smuggling:

—Into Hungary—From Romania: Nagyvarad, Debrecen, Gyula, Battonya; From Yugoslavia: Tompa, Kelebia, Hercegszanto

—Out of Hungary—Toward Austria: Rajka and Hegyeshalom; Toward Slovakia: Balassagyarmat, Dejtar, Letkes, Hidasnemeti; Toward Slovenia-Italy: Redics area.

It is generally acknowledged that most smuggled people fulfill the requirements of entry into Hungary, so they arrive here legally. Some 15-20 percent of all the illegal movements of people take place with the help of a smuggler.

According to Istvan Szoke, the different sentencing habits make their work even more difficult. Out of the

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285 people smugglers who were caught in 1995, only two were sentenced to actual prison terms, and the rest only got fined. As opposed to this, the average prison terms for smuggling people is one to three years in Austria, three years in Germany, and up to 12 years in Italy.

The Hungarian border police is preparing to act as investigative police in cases of smuggling people and counterfeiting documents, after the new law on border protection is adopted.

Hungary: Privatization Minister Assesses Income Plans

AU2401150796 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Jan 96 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Tamas Suchman, minister without portfolio in charge of privatization, by Agnes Peredi; place and date not given: "Suchman: No One Can Bargain With Me"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We know exactly what we want to privatize and on what conditions, but we do not wish to publish the prices in the media because this would considerably harm our business positions, Privatization Minister Tamas Suchman said. He confirmed that they will transfer another 80-100 billion forints [Ft] income to the budget this year.

[Peredi] Various figures have recently been mentioned in connection with the privatization incomes and their use. Could you please sum up the exact situation?

[Suchman] We obtained altogether Ft439 billion cash income in 1995. From this, we transferred 150 billion to the budget last year, and 192 billion this January. The budget requirement for this year was 100 million; therefore, 92 billion is extra income. We will spend 48 billion on various state commitments, just as we spent some Ft50 billion last year on the basis of various government decisions and not for the organization's expenses.

[Peredi] You said the other day that you expect some Ft100 billion income this year, and you already know the exact source of 50 billion of this. What did you actually mean?

[Suchman] We will allot another Ft80-100 billion to the budget this year. However, I do not wish to talk in advance about when and from what elements this will come. In business negotiations, one's hands get very tied up if information is published on specific companies and prices. Talks are under way on all elements of this year's incomes, including the prices. Other countries of the region are also on the market with a similar structure of privatization offer to that in Hungary. We are each other's competitors. It is in the national economy's interest to reach as high as possible an income, and we cannot risk this by publishing our price ideas in advance.

Last year's results proved that triple the income could be achieved than had been expected, and we received twice as much for 8 percent of the assets than for the previous 57 percent. This year we are striving for higher prices by all means, even if not to this extent. For this reason, I always beg the press not to destroy the country's chances through their toying with the numbers. It is a waste of time to call in bids if we publish the prices. The situation is not the same as in 1990, at the beginning of privatization, when realistic asset assessments did not exist. We are clear about the business values, and I am only willing to talk about higher, rather than lower, prices. Last year's results increased Hungarian privatization's value on the international market, and this must not be put at risk.

[Peredi] A compromise was made on the use of the incomes at last week's government session. In the end, where did you yield and which of your ideas were accepted?

[Suchman] The compromise has three important elements. The forms of export stimulation and infrastructure development have to be drawn up, and I thought Ft50-80 billion necessary for this. The sources seem to exist already for 35-40 billion of this. We agreed that the economy can be stimulated by this amount. I agreed that we should use the amounts saved from debt repayments for this purpose. The second element is that, should it be necessary for the economic stimulation processes, another 5-10 billion can also be used for this from this year's income, which would not affect the Ft80-100 billion transfer to the budget. This is a firm stance taken by the prime minister.

In my view, the most important element is that the privatization income can be a source of the reform of state administration. Today we cannot yet see to what extent. Preparatory work in progress and the main elements of the reform will be outlined by March. Before the decision is made, the appropriate social, professional, and political debates will have to be conducted, and the draft can come before the government in late summer or early autumn. Experts of the Socialist party are willing to be partners of the Finance Ministry in this process. It will be possible to define the exact amount of privatization income to be used for this and these elements themselves will also reduce the state debt. I agree with this use, especially because this year's budget does not show the sources of the reform of state administration.

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B-H: Silajdzic: Resignation Contribution to Democracy

AU2401205296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Statement by the cabinet of Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic — announcer-read]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several statements by individual organizations and people have been published in light of the appointment of the prime minister-designate of the republican government. Some of these statements contain unfounded and incorrect claims and arbitrary assessments. Without the intention of opening a wide polemic about it, I nevertheless must point out the following:

Two reasons influenced crucially my decision to reject the mandate for the formation of the new government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The first one is linked to the manner in which the law on changes and appendices to the law on government was passed. The majority of deputies in the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on two occasions voted in favor of the proposal of a law that envisaged six ministries. Then an unprecedented pressure was exerted on the deputies and in the repeated vote they were compelled to support a decision which was contrary to their beliefs. This is a major blow to democracy.

Everything that I speak of was relayed directly by the television and no statement can dispute these facts. All those who claim to the contrary should watch the recording of the assembly session again. According to the Constitution, the prime minister must account to the assembly; however, if the deputies have no freedom of decision making then the prime minister is not accountable to the deputies but to the party moguls. I found this unacceptable.

The second reason was that the coerced legal solution reflects a direction toward further weakening of the central Bosnia-Herzegovina institutions which are very important for the country's reintegration. I do not share such an orientation and I cannot support it. I conveyed these views to the deputies and the president of the Presidency and afterward also to the public. The outcome is well known. The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, pursuant to its constitutional powers, proposed a new prime minister-designate.

Following a decision on the new prime minister-designate, various statements launched numerous unsubstantiated political accusations against myself and the current government. Evidently my biggest sin is refusing to bow to the decisions of a group of people who would like to have a political monopoly. The accusations came precisely from the people who had proposed me as the prime minister- designate. This constitutes a political disqualification which with the content of accusations and the manner in which they are being launched strongly resembles the political methods of some past times. I do not intend to enter into a polemic at this level, especially because the post of prime minister, which I still hold, obliges me to preserve the dignity of a high state post.

I would, nevertheless, like to point out that the army should not be dragged into political struggles because in this way we can remain without defense and without democracy. I view the sheer fact of returning the mandate as a contribution to democracy. In the last 50 years of political practice in Bosnia-Herzegovina this is probably the first time that a mandate has been returned. The second time it will perhaps be easier for all, is written in a statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister.

B-H: Silajdzic Views Resignation, Federation

AU2401161896 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 96 p 5

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Zdravka Soldic; place and date not given: "I Remain Prime Minister for One More Week"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, who has held this function since October 1993, stirred a lot of attention by rejecting the mandate for the formation of the new republican government. There is much speculation going on as to his future political plans, but we decided to ask him directly what he really intends to do.

[Soldic] Mr. Silajdzic, has the previous mandate ad hoc expired with your rejection of the new mandate for the formation of the republican government?

[Silajdzic] No, I am prime minister of the republican-federal government until the two governments are separated, which should take place next week.

[Soldic] Why did you reject the new mandate for the formation of the central government?

[Silajdzic] I rejected the mandate for the formation of the government because the Law on Government was adopted by the assembly in an undemocratic procedure. The assembly voted on two options, the proposals of the Bosniak and Croat delegations. The deputies voted for the first option, and supported the government proposal that it should have six ministries. However, later, under pressure, the deputies voted in contradiction to the decision adopted earlier. I think that this is unacceptable, and that is why I have rejected the mandate.

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[Soldic] Was that the only reason?

[Silajdzic] This is a question of democracy. Just look at that last assembly session. Three deputies of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], members of the SDA Executive Committee, put pressure on 54 deputies of that party to vote against their convictions. There is obviously a problem with the understanding of democracy, whether democracy comes from above or from below.

[Soldic] The SDA statement regarding those events says that the voting at the assembly session was regular.

[Silajdzic] I do not wish to discuss the regularity of the vote. Everything has been recorded by Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio Television, and everyone can see how regular it was. You can ask anything of a man, but don't ask him not to believe his eyes. You can regularly send a man to prison for 1,000 years. We are talking about something else, and that is that mature people, deputies, voted by a great majority for one thing only to be forced in the end to vote for something else. Procedure should not be allowed to stifle the democratic spirit, particularly now that we are trying to introduce true democracy. The assembly must not be a voting machine that is sent for repair every time the vote is not right. The deputies must represent their constituencies, and that has to be respected.

In Aid of Extremists

[Soldic] All right, let us finish with the assembly. Was that the only reason why you rejected the mandate?

[Silajdzic] I do not want to discuss the other reasons now, although I could list quite a few. It is enough to say that this example of voting in the assembly illustrates the essence, the basic problems of the Bosnia-Herzegovina society, that is, its political leadership. I saw that the conclusion of the SDA Executive Committee's post-assembly statements was to come to the aid of the extremist circles in Herzeg-Bosnia. Everything is possible in politics.

[Soldic] There is speculation that you will lead the opposition, and some people even say that you will head the Liberals.

[Silajdzic] There has been speculation that I had discussed my transfer with some parties before these events, but that is not true. As for the other speculation, everything is possible. That is what democracy is for. It is not a problem to have different views. The point is to know how to overcome the differences.

[Soldic] Will you form a party of your own?

[Silajdzic] I told you: Everything is possible.

[Soldic] From today's viewpoint, would you again sign the Washington Agreement?

[Silajdzic] Of course. However, ever since the Washington Agreement was signed, we have had nothing but attempts at the annulment of the agreement. The tendency toward the dissolution of that agreement is evident, its annulment bit by bit.

[Soldic] You personally have been most frequently accused for the non-implementation of the Washington Agreement.

[Silajdzic] Somebody has to be blamed. I think that the world and Mr. Koschnick have clearly stated where the problem lies. Do not forget that I also participated in the working out of that agreement and that I signed it. I believe that, on the Croatian side, Minister Granic made the greatest contribution to that agreement.

[Soldic] With what speed do you think the federation will really be implemented? Can it be implemented?

[Silajdzic] I think that it is possible and that it will be implemented. The speed will depend primarily on the foreign factor, how much pressure it will apply. However, I am not at all sure that the project can be implemented with the people that have been working on the break-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Soldic] The EU mandate in Mostar is soon running out. Do you think that a new mandate will be needed?

[Silajdzic] It all depends on how seriously the EU takes these relations. Today, Mr. Koschnick said that he did not have the strength to implement something, that is, that he had a lot of legal strength but was unable to implement anything. The EU is behind him, and he says that he cannot implement anything, which means that something is wrong. I suggested to him today to do something, to make a decision and insist on its implementation, and then see who backs him. If he cannot implement it, if he does not have the backing, then he should resign. I do not doubt Mr. Koschnick's good intentions, but it is obvious that he cannot implement anything because he does not have the backing of the EU.

Croatian Symbols

[Soldic] Your statement on Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was carried by the Croatian media, in where you say that, when you travel from Croatia all the way to eastern Mostar, you have a feeling that you are in Croatia and not in Bosnia, this statement has provoked critical comments in the media.

[Silajdzic] Croatia stops on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina. I have nothing against anyone, but we are

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still two countries. When I spoke of the feeling of still being in Croatia when I pass through Herzegovina, I was primarily referring to the insignia, the symbols. On the border between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is no state flag, no official symbols. The police of the republic and Herzeg-Bosnia have almost identical uniforms. The kuna is the currency in that area. Payments operations are established with the Republic of Croatia, the telephone codes are Croatian, and so on. The point is that we will finally have to start solving problems, not go over them all the time pretending that we do not see them. We can go on pretending and fooling the people that we are having good constructive meetings without achieving anything. This is certainly not leading to the rapprochement between the two countries and peoples. On the contrary, tensions are on the rise as we can now see.

The Lady Does as She Pleases

[Soldic] You are also criticized for the state of the state television, as well as the fact that there are no Croats in that state institution.

[Silajdzic] As you know the director of television is appointed by the assembly. This one [Amila Omersoftic] was appointed by the presidency, and the esteemed lady does as she pleases. That is not state television, it is private television. If I could have changed things in that institution, which is so important for the state, I would have certainly done so a long time ago.

However, as you know, the director threatened to dismiss me. This example illustrates something.

[Soldic] Why did you not found your own party or quit politics when it became obvious that you could not carry out your duties?

[Silajdzic] In my view, parties should not be active in war. It is a parliamentary superstructure that is not possible as we are defending both the constituencies and the foundation. [sentence as published] There was an example in England in the World War II when all the party leaders came up to Churchill and told him that they were freezing their party activities, but that they would continue the struggle after the war. Although there have been reasons for me to form a party or quit politics I could not and did not dare contemplate it during the war. As you know, I offered my resignation on several occasions, and conditioned my stay in my function with necessary changes so that everyone would start doing his job. Unfortunately, that has still not happened.

B-H: Silajdzic Outlines His Vision for Bosnia

MS2501130596 London THE EUROPEAN in English 25-31 Jan 96 p 10

[Report by Askold Krushelnycky, incorporating interview with Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic; in his office in the Bosnian presidency building, date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's wartime prime minister, who used his energy and charm to win friends worldwide for his beleaguered country, is now set to test its commitment to democracy.

He told The European that he is considering plans to form his own political party and run as a candidate in Bosnia's presidential elections later this year.

Silajdzic resigned last weekend after an acrimonious row with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. His official reason for quitting was that he had failed to convince parliament that he should have a cabinet of six ministers with full portfolio, instead of the five plus one without portfolio that parliament decided.

He claimed that deputies had been manipulated during a parliamentary vote on the cabinet composition.

Silajdzic said: "A law was passed in parliament after undue pressure was put on members of parliament. Two or three people, in effect forced the outcome. I do not see this as a free parliamentary decision. As prime minister, I am responsible to and am supposed to report to parliament. But I do not want to report to a parliament that is not free and is controlled by just two or three people. The vote was a result of SDA [Party of Democratic Action] pressure and I cannot accept that. Democracy suffered a blow."

But the argument was the final one in a long-running series of disagreements with the governing Party of Democratic Action (SDA), which Silajdzic has accused of tilting towards Islamicisation of the state and of turning its back on the ideal of a multi-ethnic, secular state. He offered his resignation last August after another row with Izetbegovic, but on that occasion the president refused to accept it.

Since Silajdzic announced his resignation on 21 January, he and his opponents have attacked one another in acerbic tones. He has accused the SDA of being authoritarian and concentrating too much on the interests of the country's mainly Muslim population while neglecting those of the Croat and Serb minorities.

Izetbegovic described the resignation as "capricious" and accused Silajdzic of being an egoist. Speaking on

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television, he said: "I think the man is too concerned with himself. The problem is not in the party or the government. It's the personality of Haris Silajdzic." Those sort of exchanges have shocked many people but it has also breathed life into Bosnia's politics. Debate and dissent had largely been frozen since the beginning of the war.

Silajdzic's resignation has forced Bosnia's people to think about exactly what kind of a state they want to live in. At stake are not only Silajdzic's personal ambitions but probably the eventual political complexion of the country.

The man forming Bosnia's new central government, Hasan Muratovic, is a 65- year-old former businessman and university professor with a doctorate in organisational behaviour. Described by Bosnians as extremely capable, Muratovic is not an SDA member but will pay close attention to the party Silajdzic branded as anti-democratic.

Silajdzic said: "Unity, or the appearance of unity, is necessary during wartime but in peacetime there should be room for different views. My own contribution to the democratic process has been my resignation."

The 50-year-old Silajdzic is a professional historian who is fluent in English and Arabic. His easy charm, sharp sense of humour and easy good looks which belie his 50 years have made him popular among both the intelligentsia and ordinary people.

He became foreign minister in 1992 and was later named prime minister. His ability to find common ground between the western and Islamic worlds made him the perfect person to lobby globally for financial and military aid during the war.

Silajdzic was easily the most popular politician in Bosnia and was admired for his modern ideas and passionate defence of a multi-ethnic society. Many Bosnians hope that he will form a party to rally moderate and secular forces, providing a platform for Serbs and Croats as well as Muslims. "That possibility does exist and I am thinking about it but I have not yet made a decision," he said.

But he did describe his vision of Bosnia were he to become president. "I want a free Bosnia, a democratic Bosnia. I want a secular Bosnia in which all cultures, religions and nationalities can find free expression. It should be a country where a decision of parliament does not interfere with personal expression or beliefs. That is the kind of country that we have been fighting for."

He spoke while sorting out documents at his office in the Bosnian presidency building. He said his contribution to the present Nato- policed peace had given him most satisfaction during his years in office. "The creation of the federation that stopped the conflict between Bosnians and Croats is most memorable and work on the Dayton agreement, which brought about peace, is also something which is important to me."

Silajdzic believes Bosnia must press ahead with rebuilding the infrastructure wrecked by war and reviving the economy. His work and influence on many world leaders have ensured that Bosnia will receive massive financial aid and goodwill. If he responds to his supporters, Silajdzic may be overseeing the reconstruction of Bosnia as president before the year ends.

B-H: Silajdzic on Reconstruction, Social Problems

3R2501082296 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 24 Jan 96 pp 14-15

[Report on interview with former Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Elisabeth Salvesen in Sarajevo on 20 January: "Ethnic Pluralism the War's Loser" — from the GRENSELOST supplement]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo — "The multicultural civilization which has existed here for hundreds of years is the war's loser. The only thing which can now uphold peace is a military balance of power," former Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic told ARBEIDERBLADET.

We met Haris Silajdic early on Saturday [20 January] morning on what was his last working day at the Presidency, the government building in Sarajevo. The following day he resigned because of disagreement with the SDA [expansion unknown] government party over the number of ministers in the new central government which is now to be formed.

Own Party?

The peace agreement lays down the condition that Bosnia must have an independent central government, and two subordinate governments: one for the Muslim-Croat federation and another for the Serb republic.

Prime Minister Haris Silajdic was given the task of forming the new central government. But he was dissatisfied with a vote in the national assembly which limited the number of ministers to five, plus one without portfolio, and he accused the SDA government party of manipulating the national assembly. It is assumed that Silajdzic will now form his own party and challenge the SDA in the elections this fall. [passage omitted]

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Dependent on Aid

"The arms embargo against Bosnia largely paralyzed us during the war and made us completely dependent on the international community. But not even you managed to tackle the strong nationalist forces which wanted to divide up Bosnia-Herzegovina," Silajdic said.

[Salvesen] Will Bosnia-Herzegovina continue to exist as a separate state when the NATO forces are withdrawn in only a year?

[Silajdic] The Dayton agreement guarantees us an independent Bosnian state, but it is fully possible that the Serb nationalists will try to tear the Serb republic in Bosnia away from the state of Bosnia. Just remember that the dream of and the desire for expansion came first from Serbia and not from the Serbs in Republika Srpska in Bosnia. Let us therefore hope that this was the last attempt from their side to destroy a multicultural society to replace it with states based on the "tribal principle" or, if you will, ethnically pure states.

The Poison Spread

It has been particularly bad for the generation now growing up to be a witness to the fact that we did not succeed in stopping or preventing the poison, tribal thinking, from spreading.

[Salvesen] When you look back: What started the war, what were the most important causes?

[Silajdic] First and foremost I believe that it was the Belgrade regime's expansionist policy which was based on the program declaration and the dream of a Greater Serbia. For example, old mythology was used to pursue political ends. In the historic vacuum which arose after the fall of communism there was in particular a spiritual vacuum and an absence of values in which many people made the mistake of looking backward instead of forward. The economic conditions were also a strong contributory factor, of course, but I would claim that the side which won people over and began to kill people with a different ethnic origin than their own was successful first and foremost because people lacked a base of values with which to resist and not because they were without bread.

[Salvesen] Do you think that the peace will last?

[Silajdic] In many ways we are now beginning from scratch. We have survived almost four years of war and are now rolling up our sleeves to get down to building peace. The aim is to use the year the IFOR [Implementation Force] will be here to set up democratic institutions, free media, organizations which will make sure that fundamental human rights are respected and in particular hold free and democratic elections.

One-Party State?

[Salvesen] Some people fear that the SDA government party will lead Bosnia in the direction of a one-party state.

"Purely theoretically it is of course possible that the SDA will win such an overwhelming majority in the elections that it will be the only party with real power," Silajdic said with a smile. "But we have in fact a multitude of small parties and I believe and hope that we will move in the direction of greater democratic pluralism. This at least is the target of the multicultural state we are now building."

[Salvesen] Several factions within the SDA have chosen to stand together in their dealings with the outside world during the years of war. What will happen now? Will it be the more fundamentalist forces which will draw the long straw?

"It is not perhaps the fundamentalists I fear most; there are other extremist forces I am more afraid of," Silajdic said diplomatically, but refused to go into greater detail.

[Salvesen] To someone coming from outside, the capital now seems to be buzzing with foreign investors, representatives of the World Bank, USAID, and so on. This must inspire hope for the future, but how will Bosnia avoid becoming completely dependent on foreign aid and being exploited economically?

[Silajdic] It was the war and the arms embargo which made us dependent on Western aid. At present many people are coming here to evaluate the situation and the possibilities. But we have received concrete promises from the World Bank of help for the enormous task of reconstruction we are facing. We have made it clear that we want to build a market-oriented economy and what we must do now is get the wheels turning. I am nevertheless worried because we are facing a series of social problems now immediately after the war with the many people who have become invalids, children without parents, internal and external refugees. We have to ensure a minimum of social justice, even though the economy is in ruins after the war. If we now allow foreign capital to return, we must also make sure of some distribution of wealth to the most vulnerable groups in society.

Necessary Tribunal

[Salvesen] Do you think that reconciliation across the dividing lines between ethnic groups will be possible after all the atrocities which have occurred in this war?

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[Silajdzic] It will take a long time, perhaps generations, to try to create reconciliation. The UN war criminals' tribunal in The Hague will have a central role in this work. I hope that they will continue to work as objectively as they have up to now and will succeed in bringing the war criminals to trial. This will help the process of reconciliation which I nevertheless believe will be difficult enough vis-a-vis the Serb nationalists who actually and voluntarily committed the atrocities, the massacres of civilians, and the rapes.

B-H: World Bank: $150 Million for Reconstruction

AU2401132996 Paris AFP in English 1204 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 24 (AFP) — Western officials tried Wednesday [24 January] to push forward Bosnia's rocky peace process with a $150-million aid package, as Croat-Moslem tensions in Mostar and stalled prisoner exchanges continue to dog the path to peace.

The World Bank in Paris confirmed press reports in Sarajevo Wednesday that it would grant a $150-million emergency reconstruction package for Bosnia.

The funds, approved Tuesday after a meeting of the bank's ruling body in Washington, will help rebuild the former Yugoslav republic's shattered water distribution, transport, electricity and gas supply and sewage treatment networks.

The funds come on top of some $500 million pledged at an international conference on reconstructing Bosnia held in London last month.

An additional $105 million could be released over the next three years to help the Bosnian Government pay for natural gas imports, World Bank official Rory O'Sullivan told Sarajevo's main daily OSLOBODJENJE.

A world bank mission is due in Sarajevo on February 5, the newspaper said.

The funds are only a tiny proportion of the estimated $5 billion the World Bank says Bosnia will need in the first three years of peace to restore its shattered infrastructure. [passage omitted]

Some 645 prisoners remain in captivity according to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The Bosnian Government is demanding information on thousands of missing civilians before agreeing further releases.

Meanwhile Croat-Moslem tensions remain high in Mostar, where the Moslems Tuesday rejected a European Union and Croat proposal on administrative districts for the divided southern city.

Safet Orucevic, mayor of the Moslem sector, said Croat proposals were "a screen for the division of the city and a legalisation of the division and everything that went before," he said. [passage omitted]

Separately, outgoing Bosnian premier Haris Silajdzic told the Croatian daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA he had resigned because of the "lack of democracy" in Bosnia and the "totalitarian tendancies" of the ruling Party of Democratic Action.

B-H: Izetbegovic, EU Delegation Discuss POW's

AU2401161396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received EU diplomatic representatives. The three-member delegation consisted of Vitorio Penarola, ambassador of the Republic of Italy to Bosnia- Herzegovina, Yves Godal, ambassador of the Republic of France, and Brian Hopkinson, ambassador of Great Britain.

The delegation expressed the EU's concern to President Izetbegovic over the delays in the process of releasing prisoners of war.

As known, the reason is the enormous difference in the number of people that the Bosnian side is demanding from the Serb aggressor and the list offered by the Pale regime.

President Izetbegovic has confirmed the readiness of the legal organs of authority to comply with what has been signed in Dayton and expressed the belief that the International Red Cross will help this process by presenting its lists.

At the same time, the obligation of Serbia after the signing of the Dayton Agreement was to release several hundred of Zepa residents, who, after the occupation of their region, fled to Serbia where they were arrested.

The question of amnesty for the persons who have not committed war crimes was also discussed. The law on amnesty is expected to be on the agenda of the next assembly session.

B-H: Muslim-Croat Negotiations on Mostar Fail

LD2401223096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 24 (TANJUG) — Muslims and Croats failed on Wednesday to reach

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agreement on municipal boundaries in the divided city of Mostar, spokesman for EU administrator of Mostar Dragan Gasic said.

Gasic said that after the talks, the European Union administrator for that city in southern Bosnia, Hans Koschnik would arbitrate in the dispute and make his decision public next week.

After the meetings on Tuesday [23 January] and Wednesday, 'in our opinion, a common agreement between the two sides on those matters is not possible, the differences are too big,' Gasic told REUTER.

He said that Koschnik would travel to Brussels on Monday for consultations with European foreign ministers before announcing his final word.

'He will make the decision public after his return to Mostar, on either Tuesday or Wednesday next week,' Gasic said.

Croats and Muslims held two rounds of talks this week in a bid to agree future boundaries of the six municipalities and a central district with no clear majority from either ethnic group.

The two sides, divided by a fierce ethnic conflict in 1993, agreed they would accept Koschnik's mediation if they failed to reach agreement in direct talks.

Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak said on Croatian television Tuesday evening that Croats wanted a smaller central area where the city, cantonal and some federal institutions would be based.

Mostar Muslims, who control the eastern bank of the Neretva river, insist on a full integration of the two communities while the Croats want two independent entities.

B-H: Koschnick Reporting Back to EU on Mostar Talks

AU2401132696 Paris AFP in English 1301 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jan 24 (AFP) — Mostar's EU administrator Hans Koschnick is to consult with EU foreign ministers after rival Moslem and Croat factions failed to agree administrative districts for the divided city.

"An agreement between the two Croat and Bosnian positions is not possible in our opinion," said a spokesman for the EU administrator here.

Koschnick, who had threatened to impose a settlement in the row Wednesday, will delay a decision until consultations with EU foreign ministers in Brussels on Monday, the spokesman added. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serbs, Bosnians Hold First Official Meeting

LD2401204196 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The first official meeting between representatives of the official authorities of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the authorities of the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in the Sarajevo headquarters of Carl Bildt, coordinator of the international community for the implementation of the civilian part of the peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Participants in the meeting agreed that the meeting was a positive step in the direction of establishing peace and renewing life in the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the initiative of Carl Bildt, the high representative of the international community, a meeting was held in Sarajevo today [24 January] between the delegations of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Serb entity. Our delegation consisted of Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, ministers Hasan Muratovic and Ibrahim Koluder, Martin Raguz, deputy minister for Refugees and Social Policy, Deputy Interior Minister Zeljko Varunek, Izudin Kapetanovic, candidate for federal prime minister designate, and Enver Kreso, member of the Party of Democratic Action's main committee.

The Serb delegation was headed by Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic, who was accompanied by [Interior] Minister Dragan Kijac and [Health] Minister Dragan Kalinic.

After the meeting High Representative Carl Bildt and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic gave exclusive statements for Bosnia-Herzegovina Television. [passage omitted]

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The meeting was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Bildt. It took place in a relatively relaxed atmosphere, probably because all the participants tried to ensure that it went ahead without any major problems, and probably because we did not go into details, apart from a few things, such as the missing persons, prisoners, etc. We discussed these issues at a greater length. I think it was a meeting which owes its success to the fact that it did take place after all. Others will certainly deal with issues in much greater detail.

All in all, it was a constructive meeting; it was a good thing it took place and that such a provision to hold

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these meetings was set out in the Dayton Agreement. [end recording]

The leader of the Serb delegation, Rajko Kasagic, was also pleased with the meeting today. Rapprochement, the establishment of communications, and the start of better activities are our priorities for the future. The war is behind us, the war is over. We must now build the bridges of peace, said Kasagic. [end recording]

Before the meeting another meeting was held between a delegation of the Sarajevo city assembly and representatives of the occupied parts of the city. The main topic was the reintegration of the temporarily occupied parts of Sarajevo, which are soon to be returned to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation under the Dayton Agreement.

B-H: Bildt on 24 Jan Talks Between Bosnians, Serbs

AU2401195296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just ended a constructive meeting in a good atmosphere, and I think that all sides believe that a certain progress has been made, Carl Bildt, senior representative of the international community, stated after a nearly three-hour meeting of delegations of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Serb entity.

According to Bildt, they discussed the civilian and military implementation of the Dayton accord as well as the law on amnesty and the important fact that proposals of the laws on amnesty had also been passed on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the territory of the Serb entity.

As a part of other political aspects, great attention was also devoted to the economic relations of the two political entities and the formation of special joint working groups that will deal with these problems.

We agreed to hold a meeting soon on the subject of telecommunications, infrastructure, and transmission of energy, which is very important for both entities, Bildt stressed.

B-H: Silajdzic on Mostar, 24 Jan Talks With Serbs

AU2401204496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Organized by the international community's representative, Carl Bildt, the long-announced meeting of the delegations of the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Serb entity started at approximately 1500 [1400 GMT] today. This was the first official meeting of the representatives of the Bosnia- Herzegovina authorities and the representatives of the Serb entity. The delegation of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina consisted of: Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic; Hasan Muratovic, prime minister-designate of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republican Government; Izudin Kapetanovic, prime minister-designate of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federal Government; Minister of Environment Munever Imamovic; Martin Ragus, deputy minister for refugees and social welfare; Assistant Interior Minister Zeljko Varundek; Enes Bezdrob, head of the Sarajevo Public Security Center; and Enver Kreso, member of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action.

The delegation of the government of the Serb entity was headed by its prime minister, Rajko Kasagic, and also comprised Interior Minister Dragan Kijas and Health Minister Dragan Kalenic.

After the talks, Jadranko Katana, Bosnia-Herzegovina Television correspondent, interviewed Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic:

[Begin recording] [Silajdzic] I believe that, all in all, this was constructive and that it was good that such a meeting was held, since this institution was envisaged in Dayton.

[Katana] You returned from Mostar this morning, or better to say, last night. A meeting was held down there with few details known to the public. What is the essence of the problem [words indistinct]?

[Silajdzic] If you want the details, the essence of the problem lies in 700 meters of land in Mostar. Without going into the history of the problem, the situation currently stands as follows: It was agreed in Dayton that Mostar would have six municipalities. It would be a unified town, however, with six municipalities — three majority Bosniak and three majority Croatian municipalities. The whole problem is that the majority in the town center was Bosniak and, therefore, this new municipality, one of the six, encroaches on the town center to an extent that the other side considers its own. Naturally, they cannot reconcile to this being a Bosnian municipality that would stretch all the way to Rondo [words indistinct] and so forth.

The Bosniak side offered a compromise solution, a good solution, namely, that a district or a seventh municipality be formed, it does not matter (?how it is called), in the area where the Bosniaks form the majority and transform this area into a new multiethnic nucleus of Mostar, so that people can return there.

Therefore, there are two solutions, either this should be a Bosniak municipality, one of these three majority

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Bosniak municipalities, or this territory should be transformed into a central district, we can name it how we want, it does not matter, a sort of nucleus of Mostar's reintegration.

It is well known that, so far, the Croatian side has insisted on retaining the separation lines, that is, that the lines of confrontation should represent the border. We said that this was not good. The Europeans did not come here to condone the existing situation, to legalize ethnic cleansing, and so forth, with which Mr. Koschnick concurs. I also held talks with Mr. Susak [Croatian defense minister], who was there. I heard that, last night, after this meeting, Susak said on television that this district would probably be the best solution. I believe that a solution can be found, however, we should apply the technique used in Dayton, namely, to sit down for two, maybe three days and not leave until this is resolved once for ever. I believe that [word indistinct]. [end recording]

B-H: Bildt on Prime Ministerial Meeting in Sarajevo

AU2401210096 Paris AFP in English 1954 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 24 (AFP) — Bosnian, Croat and Serb prime ministers met Wednesday for the first time since war broke out in the Balkans and received a firm reminder of their obligations under the Dayton accords.

They met for two hours with Carl Bildt, the official responsible for civilian aspects of the U.S.-brokered accords, who reminded them of the "international community's firm position" on freeing remaining war prisoners.

Under the accord hammered out in Dayton, Ohio, where the Bosnian Serbs were represented by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, all prisoners should have been released by last Friday at midnight.

But 650 of a some 900 estimated by the International Committee of the Red Cross remained in detention Wednesday.

"I stated rather firmly the position of the international community," Bildt, a former Swedish prime minister, said in a statement after the inaugural meeting of what is formally called the "joint intermediary commission."

"The peace agreement is there to be implemented, and I am going to be very strict when it comes to that," he said.

He added that while the three sides were now "very clear" on that point, he had to remind them that "non-compliance causes consequences."

He did not elaborate on what those consequences might be, but he added: "It was a meeting held in good spirits, constructive, and all parties think that some progress was done."

Bosnia's outgoing Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and his designated successor Hasan Muratovic both attended the meeting, as did the next prime minister of the Moslem-Croat Federation, Izudin Kapetanovic.

Silajdzic was the first to emerge from the talks, but he declined to comment on what had happened, besides saying it had been "a good meeting."

Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the self-declared Serb Republic, confirmed that the matter of remaining prisoners and the question of people still missing from the war had been discussed.

"We did not sign a protocol... but we discussed these issues," he said.

The fate of Serb-held suburbs of Sarajevo was not touched upon, he added.

Serbs, fearing retaliation from Bosnian Moslems after so many years of war, have sought a delay in the deadline for the suburbs' handover to Bosnian rule.

But their request has been denied by the NATO-led Implementation Force, which is carrying out the military side of the Dayton pact.

"We did not discuss the Serb neighborhoods of Sarajevo," Kasagic said. "That is outside the competence of the government and should be resolved by other commissions."

"I am not afraid," he added. "I believe in peace. Cooperation is possible in time of peace."

While it reached no concrete decisions, Bildt said Wednesday's meeting touched on several points in the application of the civilian and political aspects of the peace accords, formally adopted in Paris last month.

He said he himself raised the question of an amnesty law for wartime prisoners that would cover not only the Moslem-Croat Federation, but also the Serb Republic.

Bildt said the prime ministers would meet again, in Sarajevo and in Banja Luka, the principal Serb city in the north of Bosnia.

B-H: Bildt Lists Proposals for Sarajevo Resolution

LD2401222896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 24 Jan (SRNA) — Carl Bildt, the international envoy for civil affairs, today

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offered a list of proposals for resolving the status of Sarajevo on the basis of standpoints presented by the interested parties.

According to Maksim Stanisic, a member of the headquarters for the implementation of the peace agreement, Bildt's proposals are "rather generalized" because the Serb, Croat, and Muslim sides have different views on the way of resolving the constitutional setup of the city.

The [Bosnian] Serb Republic insists on two things — a transitional period until the elections, i.e., providing security for the people, an amnesty, international police forces — the Serb police should also remain in Serb Sarajevo — and Serb ethnic rights, because they cannot be second-class citizens.

Stanisic told Serb radio that the delegations of the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation will meet Bildt again next week and that, in the meantime, joint subgroups will hold meetings aimed at harmonizing the standpoints on the political organization of Sarajevo and the organization of its police forces. [passage omitted]

B-H: Sacirbegovic Discusses Diplomatic Ties With FRY

AU2401180996 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 96 p 2

["Exclusive" interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Goran Rosic; place and date not given: "As Soon As We Establish Diplomatic Relations With the FRY, We Will Immediately Open an Embassy in Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rosic] Recently, the media have been announcing that you are to meet with FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

[Sacirbegovic] According to the Dayton accord, diplomatic relations between the two countries should have been established 60 days after the signing of the peace agreement in Paris; however, this has not happened yet. We have taken measures to initiate the debate on this issue at a higher level. I expect to meet with Minister Milutinovic in Belgrade or in Sarajevo.

[Rosic] Therefore, you will come to Belgrade?

[Sacirbegovic] I am willing to travel to Belgrade! However, my government is also willing to receive Minister Milutinovic in Sarajevo.

[Rosic] Can you tell us precisely when your next visit to Belgrade could take place?

[Sacirbegovic] To tell you honestly, the date of the meeting has not been ascertained yet. It is not that I am avoiding the answer to this question; I really cannot tell you anything more about this. Otherwise, the topic of our meeting will be the normalization of relations. First of all, the establishment of diplomatic relations.

[Rosic] It has been rumored recently that Bosnia and the FRY will exchange ambassadors. Brano Miljus and Nenad Kecmanovic have been tipped as potential Yugoslav ambassadors. Are any names being mentioned on the Bosnian side?

[Sacirbegovic] We have not examined this issue yet. As far as I know, the names of the people who will perform these duties on our side are not known yet. I know that certain names have been circulating in Belgrade.

[Rosic] When will a Bosnian Embassy be opened in Belgrade?

[Sacirbegovic] Once the diplomatic relations are established, this could happen very soon.

[Rosic] What is the position of your government toward the Serb demands that the talks on Sarajevo's territorial organization should also acknowledge the actual situation on the ground, and that the local authorities in the municipalities currently controlled by the Serbian army should have their mandate extended until the elections?

[Sacirbegovic] We are willing to accept all concepts that are geared toward coexistence with the federation. To tell you the truth, some of the ideas go against the integration of Sarajevo.

[Rosic] What ideas specifically do you have in mind?

[Sacirbegovic] The ideas that would create ghettos around Sarajevo.

[Rosic] Therefore, your government will not indulge the Serbian demands?

[Sacirbegovic] There are many Serbian demands. Speaking about the concept of the town's integration, this is a rather specific question. Therefore, in this case, there is nothing that would be called the Serbian, the Muslim, or the Croatian Sarajevo.

[Rosic] What is your stance on the Serbian demands that the mandate of the local authorities in the Sarajevo municipalities where the Serbs form the majority should be extended?

[Sacirbegovic] The authorities elected in the 1990 elections, which are the legitimate authorities, will have priority in any case. I fail to see why any other authorities should enjoy any sort of legitimacy. Finally, I must point out that Sarajevo and the municipalities around it were not ethnically pure municipalities at that time.

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[Box 1, p 2]

Sacirbegovic-Milutinovic Meeting Negotiated in UN Headquarters in New York Recently

TELEGRAF's well-informed diplomatic sources in New York claim the representatives of the Bosnian and Yugoslav missions to the UN negotiated a meeting of the two foreign ministers in the UN headquarters in New York a few days ago. The exact place and date of the meeting were not agreed, however, a third county was mentioned as a possible place for the meeting.

B-H: Plavsic on FRY Failure To Lift Blockade

AU2401172196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by N.T.: "The Serb Republic Fulfilled Its Obligations — the Blockade on the Drina River Was Not Lifted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade — The blockade on the Drina River has not been lifted despite President Slobodan Milosevic's promise that it would be done last Friday [19 January]. Serb Republic [RS] Vice President Biljana Plavsic told NASA BORBA and added: "We, on our part, have fulfilled all obligations."

"During their last meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, the RS delegation was given guarantees that the blockade on the Drina River would be lifted on 19 January," Plavsic claims.

However, so far, we have not been notified by Belgrade that this has been done, Plavsic said and added: "Occasionally I hear people saying that it is now allegedly easier to cross the border, but we have not been officially notified."

Answering affirmatively to the question whether the unfulfilled promise could lead to contacts between Pale and Belgrade in the coming days, Plavsic said that this does not mean that a RS delegation will again travel to Belgrade. "I believe that a telephone conversation will suffice in providing an explanation. It is possible that a single individual, or two, could go to Belgrade, but not an entire delegation."

During the meeting in Belgrade it was agreed with President Milosevic that the RS would implement the provisions of the Dayton Agreement that had to be implemented by 19 January, and that is precisely what we did, Plavsic said, and explained:

"We have withdrawn the Army deeper into our territory, that is, 2 km from the separation line even before the proposed deadline; we also honored the agreement on the POW exchange, and we cannot be held responsible because the Muslim side is hindering the agreement."

In response to whether Belgrade was deliberately procrastinating with lifting the blockade, Plavsic said: "I cannot say whether this is deliberate; I do not want to think along those lines, because I cannot comprehend that the most important individuals can resolutely say 'the blockade will be lifted,' yet have other intentions.

"Therefore, I am looking for a reason, and the only thing I could think of that might have prevented lifting the blockade is the fact that the POW exchange failed," Biljana Plavsic concluded.

B-H: Karadzic Does Not Rule Out Fresh Clashes

LD2501110996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 25 Jan (SRNA) — Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, stated last night that the danger of a renewal of the conflict in the region of former Bosnia had still not been removed.

"We believe that peace will take root, but we must also be prepared for the other possibility," President Karadzic said, taking part in the [Bosnian] Serb television [phone-in] "Ask the President" program.

President Karadzic said that "a new Croat-Muslim war could very easily happen, considering the fact that they have still not separated," and that the possibility of a confrontation between Serbia and Croatia "is not completely excluded."

Replying to questions from viewers, President Karadzic reiterated the position of the state leadership of the Serb Republic that the Serbs should remain in Serb Sarajevo until they have their own government and police, and added that the transfer of power should not take place before the scheduled elections in September.

"However, the question arises as to how the Muslims will take control even after the elections, if the Serbs remain and vote for their representatives," Karadzic said.

"In the event of an unfavorable solution, the state will organize the evacuation of the people and their property," the Serb Republic president concluded.

B-H: Threat of British-Mujahidin Conflict Analyzed

96BA0048A Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 95 pp 7-8

[Article by Esad Hecimovic: "Is a Conflict Between the Mujahidin and the British a Threat in Central Bosnia?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Will there be a conflict between Western soldiers and the mujahidin in Bosnia? After

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that possibility was announced in the statement made by Chris Vernon, UN military spokesman in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who announced that "there should be no doubt that if the threat to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] escalates, there are rapid reaction forces whose mandate is to protect fighting men of the United Nations," such predictions are no longer the fruit of simply speculation and propaganda. Along with the military conflicts the West has had up to now with the Serbian Army and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the tension between the French and Croatian forces around Mostar, this conflict between the British and the mujahidin is attracting the greatest attention as the arrival of NATO troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina is awaited. With their main headquarters in Zenica, the mujahidin in Bosnia will be located between soldiers from the three member countries of the NATO alliance: Turkey, Britain, and the United States.

Where Will NATO Be Coming?

So far, two preparatory meetings have been held with NATO generals, in Split on 3 November and in Kiseljak on 8 November. In the meeting held on 3 November between Dr. Ejup Ganic and General William Carter, chief of staff of the southern wing of NATO in Split, it was announced that 60,000 NATO soldiers belonging to three divisions would be coming. The French, whose command headquarters will be in Mostar, are dominant in the first division. The French are coming through Ploce, and they will be responsible for the situation in the eastern part of the country. The English are dominant in the second division. The British headquarters will remain in Gornji Vakuf, which is where the UNPROFOR Command for the southwest has been up to now; in it, top-level British officers have been predominant. The British are responsible for the western part of the country, and they are arriving by way of Split. The American soldiers, whose headquarters will be in Tuzla, are dominant in the third zone. The Americans are coming from Germany via Hungary. It is assumed that the Dubrava Airport near Tuzla is envisaged to accommodate the American division in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Up to now, the Americans have been suspected in European diplomatic, military, and media circles of having armed the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina through that airport, but they have been denying this. It is assumed that the Tuzla airfield would finally be used for this purpose if the United States does decide to arm and train the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to ensure military balance in Bosnia-Herzegovina as one of the basic conditions of a stable peace.

The second meeting with NATO representatives was held on 8 November in Kiseljak. The delegation of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina included Dr. Ejup Ganic, professor, member of the Presidium of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Army Gen. Rasim Delic; Minister Hasan Muratovic and his Croatian "counterpart," Slobodan Bozic; HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Gen. Filip Filipovic; Brigade Gen. Vahid Karavelic; HVO Gen. Ivan Kolak; and others. NATO was represented by Gen. Richard, commander of the operational forces of the RRF [rapid reaction force], who spoke on behalf of Gen. Walker; Gen. Searby from the Naples joint operations office; Gen. Judd, RRF chief of logistics; Colonel Nunn, RRF chief of operations; and Col. Idhe, NATO liaison officer in the UNPROFOR Command.

During the meeting in Kiseljak, LJILJAN has learned, there was a good deal of repetition of the information that was presented in the Split meeting on deployment and the method of command, and on the general needs of NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Several details about the way in which NATO would operate in Bosnia-Herzegovina were still not known after that meeting, because NATO representatives responded to every specific question by saying that the peace agreement had not yet been signed to define their role and task and the manner of operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to information available to LJILJAN editors, an agreement was made in Kiseljak that Gen. Vahid Karavelic will be liaison between the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and NATO. In Bosnia-Herzegovina government structures, NATO will maintain contact with Minister Hasan Muratovic, and at the highest political level of the Presidium of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Dr. Ejup Ganic, professor. Gen. Richard, from what LJILJAN has learned, has assumed the obligation of presenting the plan for command reconnaissance by 14 November so that on that day a meeting would be held to draw up the general agreement between the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and NATO. That agreement was stipulated by the peace agreement in Dayton. The 14th of November is also the deadline for preparing the proposal of civilian and military representatives who will become members of the Joint Commission of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and NATO, which will concern itself with solving all the current affairs and disputes of the peace operation of NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There are grounds for the assumption that the relationship with the mujahidin will very quickly become one

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of those issues under dispute. Aside from the main base in Zenica, the other main support point for the El Mujahid unit is in the area of Zavidovici, and the main road between the Zenica and Tuzla regions.

Dispute Over Supervision

One of the most important reasons for the recent conflict between British military observers and the mujahidin in the area of Zavidovici and Ozren is the question of supervision. The dispute between the British "blues" and the mujahidin during October abounded in incidents, but the most important aspect of these conflicts for the future peacekeeping operation of NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the dispute over supervision. The UNPROFOR military observers, accompanied by five British soldiers, intended to visit the area of Blizna in the company of the division commander at Zavidovici. Some 30 mujahidin held up the convoy consisting of two British and two Army vehicles, and the jeep containing the military observers. Chris Vernon, UN military spokesperson, said that only an action by the Bosnian commanders saved the lives of the UN soldiers.

From what LJILJAN has learned, the mujahidin opposed the British military inspection of the region under their control, while the Bosnian commander Hasanagic insisted on his right to organize such a visit as the regional commander of the division. This action of the mujahidin was unacceptable to the United Nations, and could only help to increase tension in this region. Col. Vernon named a unit of about 800 men, mainly from the Middle East and Africa, responsible for the incident. "We have been having many problems with them. They are not like the Bosnian Army. Most of them are volunteers, they are not paid, but they are very good soldiers," said French Major Herve Gourmelon, estimating the number of mujahidin in central Bosnia at between 1,000 and 2,000; the local population has been complaining about their behavior.

The number of men is not the only thing that remains unknown in the status of this important unit of the 3d Corps. While officially its status is still that of a detachment, in El Mujahid they say they are now a brigade in which they are training about 1,000 Bosnian Muslims. The incident in the vicinity of Zavidovici is explained in El Mujahid in terms of the tendentiousness of the British UNPROFOR: "The last two cases indicate that the association of the events with our unit is a case of obvious tendentiousness, probably on the part of the British UNPROFOR. The first occurred in the area of Blizna. The English UNPROFOR convoy was stopped at the mujahidin checkpoint. An agreement had been reached in advance with the competent authorities that every passage of these convoys must be announced in advance. That was not the case here. After a routine check, the vehicles were nevertheless passed through, because an officer of the 3d Corps was with them. As they passed through the mujahidin camp, shouts of 'God is great' resounded through the valley. That was the atmosphere as the convoy passed through the entire camp of the mujahidin." The participants in the convoy perceived this as a threat of death, as a nightmare and mistreatment. That was, in fact, conveyed by UNPROFOR spokesperson Chris Vernon. The second case occurred on 2 November, when two New Zealand soldiers arrived at the headquarters of the mujahidin in Zenica. They asked to talk to the command. They wanted guarantees that the mujahidin would not attack while they were playing a game in the Zenica stadium. This suspicious statement, because it is logical that guarantees would be requested from the command of the corps or city, called for a routine examination of the documents of these two UNPROFOR soldiers. After this was done, they were released. In his report to the public, Vernon referred to this event as their being "apprehended in front of the Hotel International and held for three hours." The report mentioned one of the two objectives of the general media campaign against the mujahidin—the sending of rapid reaction forces to these areas.

The importance of this dispute over supervision of a very important region linking the Zenica and Tuzla regions should not be particularly emphasized. It is natural that supervision of this area should be an integral part of the peace operation of NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For now, it is obvious that this region is actually under supervision of the mujahidin, whose unit is seen as the "true authority" because of its participation in battles from spring to fall and its deployment in this area over the last one and a half years. The observers emphasize that the mujahidin justifiably emphasize their decisive importance in the success of units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the battles to take Vozuca, but that since that time they have become so strong that they have become a "power feared by everyone." The Bosnian observers, who consented to speak only anonymously, which is an aspect of this topic, say that even the Bosnian Muslims in the El Mujahid detachment do not have access to relations and intentions of the foreign volunteers, who comprise the real command and backbone. "They still have not realized this is not Afghanistan. It is easier for them behind the chetnik lines than in civilian life," say Bosnian observers, who have a regard for the mujahidin.

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Murder in Donji Vakuf

The series of incidents in October in relations between British soldiers and humanitarians and the mujahidin actually followed the murder of a Bosnian Muslim belonging to this unit who was recovering at home in his own village near Donji Vakuf. On 5 October, in the village of Rudina near Donji Vakuf, Elvedin Hodzic, a fighter of El Mujahid, was killed by British soldiers of the United Nations.

British Defense Minister Michael Portillo represented the series of incidents in late October as revenge for this murder, saying that the British soldiers had killed the mujahidin in self-defense. The official British report on this incident has not been delivered even to the competent security authorities of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the security authorities of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, no one was willing to even speak about this topic for public consumption, stating as the reason intimidation by the "mujahidin, who are dangerous and ready for anything." A similar fear was expressed, according to certain reports, following the incident at Blizna, by the commander of a division of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina stationed in Zavidovici. That fear, and the paralysis of competent army and government authorities for that reason and certain others, actually represents in this case a confirmation of the prediction stated earlier by British and American observers in central Bosnia that it would be a long time before local authorities would be able to impose themselves as the true authority on the mujahidin factions in that region. The Bosnian military and civilian authorities have simply stayed out of the case of the murder of a Bosnian citizen, a Bosnian Muslim, allowing the impression to be gained that this is a conflict between two groupings of foreign citizens on its territory. The only explanation has arrived to date through the Press Center of the 3d Corps, which actually only conveyed the communication of the El Mujahid unit as one of the units of the 3d Corps. The officials, regardless of their level, refused to make public statements about this. It is obvious that many issues, even of a formal nature, from the status of the foreign fighters and their records to the protection of members of their families, which in many cases occurred through marriage with Bosnian women, simply have not been resolved. From what LJILJAN has learned, a conversation is expected between Professor Ganic and the Command of El Mujahid on many of the topics under dispute. Ganic's task follows not only from his future role in contacts with NATO, but also from his role as vice president in the federation of Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Proof of the linkage between these two assignments of Ganic's lies, for example, in an article in the October GLAS TURSKE, the bulletin of the Turkish battalion in Zenica, to the effect that "Mr. Dario Kordic, president of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, called upon the government in Sarajevo to immediately remove all mujahidin units from Croatian settlements in central Bosnia. Mr. Kordic warned the government that removal of mujahidin formations from central Bosnia is one of the preconditions for all future talks about the functioning of the federation." One of the earlier spokesmen for the Turkish military contingent in Zenica did not hesitate to tell the NEW YORK TIMES: "Our main problem is the fundamentalists, who do not like us, because Turkey is a secular state. But for now, everything is peaceful."

Mother Accuses the British

According to a release which the editors of LJILJAN obtained from Nedim Haracic, in the press service of the El Mujahid detachment, witnesses of the murder of Elvedin Hodzic were his wife Mirnesa, his sister Elvedina, and his mother Ramiza.

"All of a sudden, we heard a loud pounding on our door. We did not want to open up, because there was no man in the house, until the soldiers began to surround the house. We were utterly frightened; afraid they would break in after they began to pound again, we opened the door. They asked for water, although there was a fountain and glass in front of the house. The water was flowing from the fountain. I brought a glass of water, but he only smelled it. They saw there was no one but the two of us, and they soon went away," the wife Mirnesa and the sister Elvedina of the murdered Elvedin Hodzic said in their statements, according to the press release of El Mujahid.

According to the same source, "a little after noon, Elvedin returned from the field with his mother. They were both pushing wheelbarrows of potatoes." His mother Ramiza told us: "We were coming from the field. Ahead of us, I spotted a very large white vehicle. My son said to me: 'What is an UNPROFOR personnel carrier doing here?' Still pushing the barrow, he hurried a bit in their direction. Seeing us (Elvedin had a thick black beard), they raised their weapons, which until then they had held pointed at the ground. When he reached them, he asked what they were doing there. I saw the one on the personnel carrier turn his weapon in the direction of my son. Two of them were standing in front of the vehicle. Elvedin then said: 'I am not a chetnik! I am a mujahidin! God is great!' Not a moment passed before a powerful report resounded from the weapon of the one in the personnel carrier. As he fell, Elvedin managed to say 'God is great!'; at that, one of the two who were in front of the vehicle, first going behind

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his back, fired two more rounds into my son's back. I froze. Only when they had hurriedly left did I manage to say: 'They have murdered my son!'" states the report of Elvedin's mother Ramiza in the press release of El Mujahid.

Mujahadin Deny Accusation

Following the murder of Elvedin Hodzic, a soldier of El Mujahid who was recovering at home after being wounded in the battles for Vozuca, there were numerous incidents. In a conversation with a journalist of LJILJAN who visited the command of El Mujahid, its leaders deny any responsibility at all on the part of its fighters, saying that the British are simply trying persistently to establish contact and cause trouble with the mujahidin in central Bosnia. The incidents which occurred in October also brought a great deal of negative publicity to the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to the government authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina at a time of important negotiations to resolve the question of Bosnia. Several fierce protests were also sent to the Bosnian Government, but the Bosnian authorities have not taken a position. The only well-known case of this kind of position taken by the authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the apology which the authorities in Zenica sent to John Shattuck, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, to the effect that "as representatives of the civilian authorities of Zenica Opcina, we are aware of the problems we have at the moment related to the presence and activity of certain foreign nationals and their negative influence on the agreed-upon efforts to establish peace, security, and equality for all citizens of our city." For a year, the Zenica political and opcina authorities have been persistently seeking a solution to these problems, but nothing goes beyond an expression of verbal determination and actual helplessness. At the same time, the mujahidin stubbornly deny all the incidents and blame them on both the local Bosnian Muslim population and on the Croatian population and Western military and humanitarian officials.

In that kind of atmosphere, unless there is a clarification and agreement among all the parties involved, we can expect a continuation of the incidents and conflicts. Dr. Ejup Ganic's mission seems for the present to be sufficiently authoritative and acceptable to all those who are interested in finding a real solution that will be acceptable to the various Bosnian and Bosnian-Muslim allies and partners in central Bosnia.

B-H: Serb Ruling Party Holds Constitutive Session

LD2301210896 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 23 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The first constitutive session of the presidium of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS], chaired by Serb President Dr. Radovan Karadzic, was held in Pale today. At today's session, the presidium adopted a work program for the January-March period and a platform for political activity of municipal and coordination committees.

The session discussed ways and means in which the SDS would be resolving more speedily and efficiently all current problems, but above all the existential problem of the homeless families in the Serb Republic [RS]. The manner and scope of employing demobilized RS army soldiers was also agreed on.

[Begin Vlado Vrkes, SDS presidium secretary, recording] Today, we held the first constitutive session of the SDS presidium. At the session, we have adopted two main things in order to become more efficient and responsive and in order to work more with the people and to be more present among them: the SDS presidium work plan for January, February, and March 1996; and we have also adopted guidelines for the political work of SDS municipal committee chairmen and SDS coordination committees.

The SDS will review the situation and all its aspects. In the guidelines for municipal committee chairmen we have listed main issues, which the municipal committees together with coordination committees and the main committee presidium, must resolve urgently. Here we have in mind above all accommodation for refugees and displaced people, whose homes are outside RS territory; and, second, the economic revival in the RS and the reintegration of demobilized soldiers into the civilian society in the RS. [end recording]

In the past, the SDS acted as a movement which articulated the overall interests of the Serb people here at the time when the Serb people were threatened with persecution.

Today, when several parties are active on the RS political scene, the SDS has transformed itself at all levels in order to become more efficient. It has, thus, evolved from a national movement into a national political party, which will enable it to resolve all current and future political problems more efficiently and successfully.

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B-H: Professor Assesses RS Economic Potential

AU2401162096 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 96 p 7

[Report by B. Maric: "Fortunately, We Do Not Have Giants From the Socialist Era"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Is the Serb Republic [RS] an economic winner or loser in comparison with the Croat-Muslim Federation? This is the question to which an answer has been sought ever since the peace agreement was signed in Dayton last fall.

Dr. Mladen Ivanic, professor at the College of Economics in Banja Luka, says that practice — that is, the ability of the RS and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation to readjust themselves from wartime to peacetime conditions and life's challenges — will provide the answer to this question.

Ivanic says that the RS has a clear advantage in agriculture and the food processing industry, as it has gotten the most fertile parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Lijevce Polje, Semberija, and the entire Podrinje region are integral parts of the RS. The RS also possesses the largest part of the Posavina region, as well as parts of Popovo Polje. This means that the most fertile land, except in the Neretva River valley, is in the Serb state," Ivanic says.

Therefore, he says, it is not a question of whether the RS can feed itself, but whether it will be able to exploit what it has, especially since there is always a demand for healthy, good, quality food.

According to Dr. Ivanic, another advantage of the RS is the fact that it does not have on its territory the socialist era giants, such as the Steel Works in Zenica, whose losses were being covered by the whole of the Bosnia-Herzegovina economy in the prewar period.

"From an economic point of view, the RS should be viewed as if it consisted of two parts: east and west of Brcko. The western part is more developed and has a better infrastructure. Situated there are the [Bosanski] Brod and Modrica oil refineries, then Omarska, Ljubija, Celpac of Prijedor...," Dr. Ivanic says.

The return of the Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo municipalities, as well as parts of the Drvar and Petrovac municipalities, to the RS means the return of the productive parts of forests. About 6,000 cubic meters could be cut without affecting the survival of the forests.

Ivanic says that in the eastern part of the RS, the most valuable facilities are Ravni Horizonti of Gacko, Boksit [Bauxite] of Milici, and the aluminum oxide plant in Birac.

What the RS manages to exploit will depend on the global strategy of its current government, which must turn itself toward the world as the market in the RS is too small for the resources that the state has.

"The world will help us only under the condition that we offer good programs, programs that will guarantee profits to foreign investors. Investors are not interested at all in the national precursor of the economy in which they are to invest," Dr. Ivanic says.

Therefore, as he says, the RS must not rush with privatization and give away its resources for next to nothing. To be more precise, the value of the companies to be privatized — that is, "shared out" among the workers and the war veterans — must not exceed 50 percent.

Dr. Ivanic says that the "starting" position of the RS is exceptionally difficult. Public expenditures have been exceeding revenues for years and the "minus" has been made up from the population's reserves.

Furthermore, in the RS there are 170,000 pensioners and more than 40,000 recipients of social aid either because they are disabled or because they are members of the families of the fighters killed in this war.

The old foreign currency savings of the RS population is estimated to be $600,000 million, while its foreign debt, "inherited" from the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], is nearly $800,000 million. Then, there are 400,000 people expelled from Croatia and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation living in the RS.

"On the territory of the RS, there are 330,000 workplaces, of which 280,000 are in the productive branches of the economy. With what pace will these places be filled will depend to a great extent on the readiness of the RS to open itself to foreign capital," Dr. Ivanic says.

B-H: Decisions of HDZ Presidency Session Listed

LD2401191796 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We start our bulletin with the statement issued at today's session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] Presidency, which we have just received:

The Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ Presidency discussed a number of issues at a session held in Mostar today. The presidency adopted amendments and addenda to the rules of procedure concerning the work of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ Presidency. The presidency also endorsed and proceeded with the implementation of the decisions and conclusions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina

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HDZ Central Committee dating from 12 January 1996. [passage omitted]

The presidency also endorsed candidates for the posts of ministers and deputy ministers in the governments of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the transitional period. The candidates for federal ministers and deputy ministers are:

Vladimir Soljic — defense;

Drago Bilandzija — finance and deputy prime minister's post;

Mato Tadic — justice;

Bozo Ljubic — health;

Nikola Grabovac — trade;

Jozo Leotar — deputy interior minister's post;

Perica Jukic — deputy energy, mining and industry;

Pavao Boban — deputy trade and communications;

Damir Ljubic — deputy social policy, displaced persons and refugees;

Simun Musa — deputy education, science, culture and sports.

The candidates for the posts of ministers and deputy ministers in the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the transitional period are:

Jadranko Prlic — foreign affairs;

Neven Tomic — foreign trade and international communications;

Zoran Perkovic — deputy justice and general administration;

Vladislav Pogarcic — deputy displaced persons and refugees.

In accordance with its orientation toward the consistent implementation of the Dayton Agreement and adhering to the decisions and conclusions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ central committee, the party's presidency also adopted a political decision on the gradual transfer of the executive functions of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation bodies, set up in line with the constitution.

The Bosnian HDZ Presidency also adopted a political decision on setting up the Herzeg-Bosnia Croatian community, as the political, economic, and cultural community of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the basis of the above decision, the Bosnian HDZ Presidency requested that the partner in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation carry out its part of the obligation laid down by the Dayton Agreement, referring to the transfer of power in areas of the Federation controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. [passage omitted]

Acknowledging changes in the circumstances and respecting the interest of Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the establishment and the best possible functioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation bodies, the HDZ Presidency adopted a decision whereby Kresimir Zubak remains the president of the Federation in the transitional period, according to the statement issued at today's session.

B-H: Croat Leader Zubak Views Current Issues

LD2401220496 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Interview with Bosnian Croat leader Kresimir Zubak by correspondent Fazlic, in west Mostar on 24 January — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Fazlic] Over the past two days meetings have been held on the delineation of the borders of the six municipalities [in Mostar]. How do you view this issue?

[Zubak] We agreed that, regardless of how we might react and that we might have our own opinions, the last word on all this will be that of Mr. Koschnick. His standpoint will be definitive and binding on both sides.

[Fazlic] In your opinion, how should these difficulties over the realization of what has been agreed with regard to the federation be overcome?

[Zubak] I believe that in the government of the federation and the government of the republic in the transitional period we have, in fact, an instrument with which to realize the obligations that arise from the Dayton and Washington Agreements. So we will now be able to resolve the numerous questions much more quickly — and these relate not only to the implementation of the constitution. These issues are of relevance to the renewal of life and work.

[Fazlic] When will you begin the planned return of refugees to their homes in Stolac and Bugojno?

[Zubak] This is one of the most difficult problems. As regards the obligations of the Croat side, I would like to say that we will fully realize our obligations in Jajce, where not only the number of Bosniak Muslim families envisaged by the Dayton Agreement will return but even more such families will return. We had intensive talks with political and other Croat officials from the Stolac municipality. We gave them concrete tasks, too. And

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we will implement our obligation to return 100 Bosniak Muslim families to Stolac, too.

[Fazlic] How far have you got with sorting out the cantonal borders within the federation?

[Zubak] Yes. This is one of the more complex questions. Sarajevo remains an open question, as does the question of western Herzegovina and Mostar. The issue of Sarajevo is going to be dealt with at a later date, whilst we will most probably resolve the question of western Herzegovina and Mostar by virtue of the fact that Mr. Roberts Owen, the arbiter for the federation, will make a final decision on this. He is here and he has already received the Croat proposal on how to resolve this issue, but we will accept in advance the decision of the arbiter, Roberts Owen, regardless of whether he acccepts our proposal or not.

[Fazlic] How far have you got with the transformation of Herzeg- Bosnia so that it becomes part of the federation?

[Zubak] The Dayton Agreement starts from the notion that the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia will be stripped of its attributes as a state. We will implement our obligations here. We will try to do this in such as way that there are no upheavals, especially because the government of the federation has not yet been formed. And the cantonal authorities to whom we are supposed to transfer these functions have not yet been formed either. These are the problems. They are purely operational and technical in nature. Our political standpoints are clear. We will stick to our obligations.

B-H: Croats' Bender Comments on Current Events

LD2401234696 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Bender, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the acting president of the Presidential Council, commented today for the Croat radio of Herzeg-Bosnia on events in Usora, on Ravne-Brcko, and statements on the Croat Defense Council [HVO] made by Alija Izetbegovic — carried today by SLOBODNA DALMACIJA — as well as on negotiations on Mostar. Zoran Kresic reports.

[Kresic] Asked what the leadership of our republic would do to protect the Croat population in the area of Usora and Brcko, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies said:

[Bender] "We are in daily contact with representatives of municipal councils and municipalities of Brcko-Ravne and Usora, and we are discussing what should be done. I can say that the situation is calming down, it is under control, we have given instructions, jointly with the Bosnia-Herzegovina institutions, what has to be done.

"Both the representatives of the Muslim nation and representatives of IFOR have been clearly warned that we will not allow maltreatment and arrests of people. Should it continue, we will have a solution for such an event.

"I do expect tensions to be defused. Yesterday I was in contact with both municipalities. The situation is calming down, it means we can expect a political solution of the problem."

[Kresic] Why is it happening in the areas where there were no Muslim-Croat conflicts in the past? — was the following question.

[Bender] "You see, everything that is happening in Usora and in Brcko-Ravne may be interpreted as pressure being exerted on the Croats from these areas to abandon them, so that compact areas belonging to Muslim people could be created instead. I personally will do all I can, through the institutions of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, the Croat Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and through institutions of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to put a stop to this.

"My message is clear, and I believe it is a united message from all institutions of the Croat people, that there is no going away, no abandoning. On the contrary, we will create conditions which will guarantee that the Croats can stay put on what is theirs on the territory of those two municipalities as well."

[Kresic] Commenting on the interview that President Izetbegovic gave to Sarajevo Television, and which SLOBODNA DALMACIJA carried today under the title "Attack on HVO," in which Izetbegovic comments on the speech of President Bender in the republican parliament, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of our republic said:

[Bender] "All these statements only prove what we said a long time ago, and that is that the Muslims would use everything at their disposal to prevent the establishment of the Federation. I expect more problems. But this time the Croat nation has everything it needs — from its Croat Democratic Union to the institutions of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia with its army and police — to prove once again to everybody that we sincerely back the Federation, and that at the same time we want very close ties and cooperation with the Republic of Croatia on the principles of confederation. As far as the HVO is concerned, it is clear. But for the HVO, not all of us would be on these territories. On the contrary, the

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question may be asked how far the borders of a greater Serbia might have extended.

"I would not dwell too much on Alija Izetbegovic's statements. I do believe that they would be on the Drina. The only question is on which bank. [as heard]"

[Kresic] Prime Minister Silajdzic's resignation, the crisis brought about by the latest events in the Party of Democratic Action, influence the formation of the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Bender comments:

[Bender] "All the preparations are being made. It may be expected that the government of the Republic and the Federation will be formed at the same time. Only this time we will not allow any tricks or outvoting. We will... [changes thought] We can expect that to happen on the 30th and 31st; then we will have both governments, the ones that the representatives of Croats and Muslim have agreed; that is, the representatives of the Croat Democratic Union and the Party of Democratic Action.

"As far as the situation with Silajdzic and among the Muslim ranks is concerned, my message is clear. The situation among the Muslims should not be of great concern to us. On the contrary, we have made a pact long ago; that we will sort out the situation among our ranks and among our people while the Muslims will sort out among their people. So, we will most probably have on 30th, 31st a situation where the representatives of Croats and of Muslims will vote, through authorized representatives of two ruling parties, for governments we have agreed upon."

[Kresic] The last question was connected to Mostar, the Croat centre in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What are the positions of the main Croat institutions of power?

[Bender] "All this that is happening in Mostar could have been expected. An attempt was made to remove Mostar from the process of the establishment of the Federation, and it was shown clearly that it is neither feasible nor possible. Mostar was and will remain the capital of all Croats in this region. All institutions must understand this. I believe that the representatives of the Croat state were clear about it, that representatives of international factors understood that. That is why I believe that one of these days we will have the final solution of Mostar as was agreed upon in Dayton.

"There should be no major problems in this area. In case there is no agreement, we will accept arbitration of international factors, primarily of Germany and the United States of America. I am convinced that they will be realistic, with no political pretensions, as they have been until now."

B-H: Croat Journalist Assails 'Fundamentalist' Izetbegovic

LD2401235196 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Our journalist Ivan Kristic [editor of Herzeg-Bosna radio and Croatian radio correspondent from Mostar] now comments on Alija Izetbegovic's unfounded statements on Sarajevo TV [Bosnia-Herzegovina].

[Kristic] Alija Izetbegovic is still falsely portraying himself as president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, even though he is really just the president of the Muslim Party of Democratic Action and president of the part of the state controlled by his Muslim army. He believes that he is so wise and cunning that he has fooled all other political factors in Bosnia-Herzegovina by leaving out the term Muslim from the name of the party which he founded and which he heads. He thinks that he is believed when he says that his party is a democratic and civic one.

However, there are not so many naive people around these days, people who are prepared to believe in words, Izetbegovic's in particular, because he speaks vaguely and ambiguously so that his word could be interpreted in several ways. He is also known for frequently refusing to recognize his own words. Everyone judges you by your deeds and Izetbegovic's deeds show that he is an Islamic fundamentalist who wants to set up a jamahiriyah in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would, today in this territory, reflect the state system characteristic of the Ottoman Empire.

As things are not going according to his plans and his program contained in his Islamic Declaration, Mr. Izetbegovic is getting increasingly nervous and quarrelsome — he is getting rid of his former favorites and closest associates. He is also making statements that could be nominated for an anthology of international bad jokes and stupidities.

One of these is, without doubt, the one where he said that he would now be on the river Drina [on the border with Serbia] if it were not for the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. As far as the Drina is concerned, it is an undisputable historic fact that during World War II the Chetniks had a plan to ethnically cleanse the Muslims from all the towns on the river Drina and the entire eastern Bosnia. They would have succeeded in that if it were not for the Croat knights [Ustasha forces], who defended the area with their romantic enthusiasm, inspired by Pravastvo [anti-Serb political movement in Croatia] and saved the Muslim population from the Chetnik genocide. Instead of gratitude they were called fascists and the Muslims decided to build brotherhood

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and unity with those same Chetniks who butchered them. In that [Tito's] period no memorials were allowed to be built at the sites of barbarous Chetnik crimes.

When Alija Izetbegovic founded his Muslim party of Democratic Action he made false promises to the people, telling them that Foca [where Chetnik forces massacred Muslims during World War II] would never happen again. In reality, his policies were so thoughtless that the Chetniks had an advantage and it was possible for them to ethnically cleanse not only Foca but also Visegrad, Zvornik, Bijeljina, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Rogatica. Now it is obvious that these crimes will really never happen again.

If mister great and successful politician Izetbegovic really wants it and if he can go to the river Drina, the Croats have not and will not be an obstacle. However, to reach the Drina one has to be courageous and prepared to die and that is not very easy. It is much easier to sit around and spit at the Croats constantly. While Izetbegovic conducted such a wise policy, the Serbs captured half of Bosnia, killed 200,000 Muslims, expelled around a million, and separated Bosnia from Sandzak [Muslim populated region in Serbia].

Despite all this, Izetbegovic wants a customs union with Serbia, a joint chamber of commerce, diplomatic relations, telecommunications and air links. Enthralled by this idyllic picture, he is not able to see that the border is not on the Drina, it is on Mt. Trebevic [above Sarajevo]. Even when he comes to terms with this, he will blame the Croats for this again, spit at them a bit, and Bosnia will be just fine, or rather half of Bosnia, because the other part is called the Serb Republic — the Croats will probably also be blamed for this.

B-H: Man Linked to Mujahidin Extremists Sighted in Tuzla

AU2401191196 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT 24 Jan 96

[By Denis Barnett]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jan 24 (AFP) — The man the U.S. Army believe is linked to Moslem radicals planning a possible attack on U.S. soldiers in Bosnia has been sighted in the Tuzla area where U.S. troops are based, a U.S. officer said Wednesday.

"He's apparently been spotted here, in the Tuzla area," said the senior officer, who did not want to be named.

Leaflets were being circulated to some of the 2,100 U.S. troops at the air base headquarters of the U.S. Implementation Force (IFOR) contingent Wednesday saying that a U.S. citizen, named as Kevin Holt, is allegedly linked to Moslem extremists or mujahidin in planning to attack U.S. soldiers.

A Pentagon spokesman said however that "we are not upgrading the alert status" in Bosnia.

U.S. troops "have been advised on terrorist threats, but they are already on a high state of readiness," said Lieutenant Colonel Arne Owens, while acknowledging "concern about mujahedeen elements in Bosnia and other possibilities."

Holt is believed to be a former U.S. special forces soldier who converted to Islam, IFOR sources told AFP.

However, earlier reports linking Holt — described as of Afro-American appearance in his mid- to late 30s — with mujahidin in Bosnia were discounted by IFOR sources.

"The mujahidin were very well organised and nationalistic in this area," said NATO Colonel Brynjar Nymo, adding "They keep to themselves. They don't like outsiders."

Mujahidin volunteers from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Algeria and Iran fought alongside troops from the mainly Moslem Bosnian army during the civil war, but under the Dayton agreement, all "foreign" fighters were to leave Bosnia by midnight last Friday.

The IFOR commander in northeastern Bosnia, General William Nash, said Tuesday that the former warring parties had complied with the demand.

Though disciplined, the mujahidin have been linked to abductions in central Bosnia and threats against British soldiers, targeted after a mujahidin fighter was shot dead in an armed confrontation with a British patrol in October.

"After a while, this threat went beyond the British to soldiers from all western countries," said Norwegian IFOR Major Tron Sandum.

"Then we had some kidnappings, with some equipment and cars being stolen, and always they said that they wanted to kill a British soldier," Sandum said.

Two Norwegians who were abducted by extremists in central Bosnia last October said one of their captors had a strong American accent, a Norwegian IFOR officer confirmed Wednesday. The pair were released after the abductors realised they were not British.

It is not known how long Holt has been in Bosnia. The leaflet, seen by AFP, warns that "given his American accent, and the proper uniform and equipment, he could easily disguise himself as a U.S. soldier."

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Sources in the NATO-led IFOR said it was more likely that Holt could be working with Moslem fundamentalist radicals unconnected to the mujahidin.

"There have been some new priests coming to Bosnia in the last four years, who were educated in Egypt and Iran, that have a mission here to try to get the fundamentalist message across. It's more likely Holt could be working for them," the source said.

IFOR personnel do not have the authority either to apprehend or arrest Holt, but had been "asked to prevent his entry to IFOR installations," an IFOR statement said.

However, both civilian and military police in Tuzla told AFP Wednesday they had not been contacted by IFOR over Holt, and had been given no information or posters concerning him.

B-H: 'Survivor' Claims Serbs Used 'Toxic Gases'

AU2401204296 Paris AFP in English 1946 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 24 (AFP) — Croatian television Wednesday showed a "survivor" claiming that Bosnian Serb forces had used toxic gases while overrunning the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica last July.

"The Serbs used toxic gases against the people of Srebrenica from July 5," 1995, the witness said. His face was shown briefly but his identity was not revealed.

Bosnian Serbs are already accused of having carried out mass executions and burying their victims in mass graves during their offensive last summer against Srebrenica, then a UN safe haven.

Investigators of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia are preparing to exhume cadavers from alleged mass grave sites to determine how the victims were killed.

B-H: Demobilization Problems in Bosnian Army Noted

LD2501145096 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Video report by correspondent Dalida Jugo with announcer's introduction; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Demobilization and the problems of finding jobs for the demobilized Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Internal Affairs Ministry personnel are the feature of our program this evening. Since there is no comprehensive program of employment for these people the first wave of demobilization has already brought obvious problems.

[Correspondent Dalida Jugo] By decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and by order by the Chief of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the demobilization of our army troops covering those over the age of 45, students, and those to be demobilized to meet economic requirements, has already begun.

[Brigadier Nedzad Ajnadzic, commander of the 1st Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina] "It should be said that the objective of the order from the chief of the General Staff was to remove compulsory military duty from a number of people subject to military conscription and to place them at the disposal of relevant state authorities to be deployed in line with economic requirements with the aim of reviving the economic activity."

[Jugo] The process of demobilization is proceeding according to plan and in line with the order. However, many problems have already emerged at the very outset.

[Unidentified interviewee] "We all dreamed about demobilization but now half of them do not want to leave. I do not think it will work. I have a large number of such cases in my unit. People do not want to go home, do not want to be demobilized."

[Jugo] The reason: there is no work for the demobilized, or at least not for all of them. This is precisely why signs of great dissatisfaction have been seen lately among the Bosnia-Herzegovina army personnel.

And what do the figures about the number of people who succeeded in finding employment after demobilization reveal?

[Mustafa Pamuk, chairman of Sarajevo district, identified by caption] "In Sarajevo district — according to my figures, which I think are more or less correct — about 10,000 people have so far been demobilized. The Sarajevo district authorities and the Sarajevo economy have found jobs for about 8,500 of them. This means that, if we take into consideration that, out of this number, 2,000-2,500 are students the Sarajevo authorities have found employment for about 6,500 or to be more precise 6,300 demobilized people in the area of Sarajevo."

[Jugo] Firms are obliged to employ, first, their previous employees, and then others. Many firms have been devastated, some no longer exist, some have transferred elsewhere, and on top of it all, there is no employment program. These are all the reasons which make the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army members think twice about whether to be demobilized or not.

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[Ajnadzic] "I must say that we have come across such problems. We, in the system of leading and commanding, have taken certain measures and have made certain short-term concessions for soldiers over 45 of age who said they wanted to stay in the army. This, however, cannot be accepted as future normal practice."

[Brigadier General Ramiz Drekovic, head of the Political Affairs Administration of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, identified by caption] "We have a large number of soldiers and officer who simply do not want to be demobilized, and from my talks with individual soldiers and officers and from my contacts with the relevant commands, my conclusion is that the main reason for their reluctance to accept demobilization is job prospects — or the lack of them — and their future existence."

[Jugo] And this is what the demobilized and unemployed members of the army have to say:

[Unidentified interviewee] "This is at the same time good and bad news. Good, because it means that the end of war has been reached, or some kind of the end, or that there will be peace for some time. It is bad news because a large number of people will be without a job and will, perhaps, have nothing to eat."

[Second interviewee] "This is sad. Something has to be done to help these people. Their families, children must be provided for, how will they otherwise cope?"

[Jugo] "Who do you think should be responsible for this?"

[Second interviewee] "Well, the government."

[Jugo] "And what do you think?"

[Third interviewee] "I agree with my friend."

[Jugo] "Do you think that after three and a half years of war the fighters, at least, deserve to be given jobs after demobilization?"

[Fourth interviewee] "Of course they do. It is not their fault, it is the fault of the government, because it failed to secure resources to guarantee jobs, normal existence. I know that in my unit — I was demobilized a month ago — there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among all those who have been demobilized. But, what can I say? I cannot do anything but express my dissatisfaction."

[Jugo] "Do you think that there is a chance of such a large number of the demobilized people finding employment?"

[Fourth interviewee] "Well, I do not think it can be done in this present situation. Even the American economy could not employ such a large number of demobilized soldiers. I think that a solution will be found in near future."

[Jugo] "Who should do it?"

[Fourth interviewee] "Well, foreign investment. I believe in that, alone. I do not believe that our government will do it. I only believe in the German and U.S. Governments."

[Jugo] "And what about the civilian authorities?"

[Fourth interviewee] "No, they have completely failed us. I do not even believe they exist. There is no trace of them."

[Jugo] "Are you satisfied with the status of the army?"

[Fifth interviewee] "Yes, I am."

[Jugo] "Would you advise people to stay in the army or to be demobilized and go and look for a job?"

[Fifth interviewee] "I do not know. We all hold different views and will act accordingly. I, personally, will remain in the army."

The issue of employment of the demobilized must be tackled in a systematic way and in accordance with the program to be drawn up by the federal government. The program is expected to define, in precise terms, the duties and obligations of all relevant ministries, city and municipal authorities, and firms. In the meanwhile, the fighters have no other choice but to wait and see and hope that better times will come.

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Croatia: Minister: No Extradition Before Law Passed

AU2401141296 Split NEDELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 96 pp 8-9

[Interview with Croatian Justice Minister Miroslav Separovic by Vedran Matosic; place and date not given: "The War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague Will Maybe Allow Bosnian Croats to Stand Trial as Free Men"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] What will happen in the Hague before the International War Crimes Tribunal, and are there any pressures on the Republic of Croatia to provide better cooperation as has often been mentioned lately? Also, the situation in the domestic judiciary is rather complex and it is clear that Minister Separovic has months of intense work and numerous contacts before him. That and some other issues is what we talked about before the beginning of the assembly session.

[Matosic] Mr. Separovic, at the moment the public is preoccupied with the issue of the trial of those accused of war crimes. Croatia is obliged to provide full cooperation with the Hague tribunal. Is that cooperation satisfying?

[Separovic] We have constant contacts with representatives of the International War Crimes Tribunal. The last time was a few days ago, when I personally met Mr. Goldstone and his assistants. Cooperation is good, and, as I could see, there are no big pressures but on the contrary good will and fair cooperation. Of course, we objected to Mr. Goldstone about the obvious lack of proportion in investigations into the crimes committed on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Specifically, the investigations have included a small number of serious crimes that the occupying forces committed in 1991 and 1992. Our objection was accepted and we were promised that the activities would be intensified in the future, when it comes to the next indictments for crimes and ethnic cleansing on the territories around Vukovar, namely in Ilok, Sarengrad, Babska, and Tovarnik, and for all crimes committed during the siege of Vukovar itself.

Indictments will follow in mid-1996. We were also informed that there would soon be indictments against some members of Bosniak-Muslim formations for crimes committed against Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina in January this year. We also talked about the possibility of forming joint investigation teams. We supported that idea; those teams should investigate all events that have occurred since the beginning of the war onwards, and not only individual cases. We informed Mr. Goldstone that we would prepare the Law on the Cooperation of the Republic of Croatia with the War Crimes Tribunal, in order to avoid possible doubts as to whether the resolutions of the Security Council and the Statute of the tribunal are implemented directly or whether it is necessary to enact special regulations.

Extraditions and the Constitution

[Matosic] Did you talk about extradition of the accused and was it proposed to Croatia that its accused citizens be tried in Zagreb, stand trial as free men, and serve their time in some of our prisons, but that, in return, the first one to sit down on the bench of the accused must be a Croat? Those, namely, are the rumors that have been going around lately.

[Separovic] I have no knowledge about such a proposal, and I believe that that would be utterly unfair and politically unacceptable, but of course we cannot prejudice the decisions of the international tribunal. However, there was talk about the possibility that some accused Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina would be given the possibility to stand trial as free men, but it remains to be seen what comes of it because that decision is not made by Mr. Goldstone but by the council of the tribunal. Besides, we talked about the possibility of carrying out the possible verdicts in some Croatian prisons and not in Holland.

[Matosic] So it is still not known whether there will be classic extradition?

[Separovic] First, it is debatable whether Croatia may directly extradite its citizens to the International War Crimes Tribunal. That is a debatable legal question because international conventions do not preempt the Constitution of Croatia, which says, in paragraph 2 of Article 9, that a citizen of Croatia cannot be expelled from the republic nor extradited to another state. True, the international tribunal is not another state, but without a special law to regulate all these questions, regulate cooperation with the international tribunal, to regulate the formal procedures, determine to whom the request is addressed and who will decide on it, and define all the technical details about the arrest and the enforcement of other legal acts, and the protection of these people before Croatian courts as well, it would not be possible. Without enacting a special law, I believe that direct extradition is not possible at this time.

Blaskic and the 'Storm'

[Matosic] What do international institutions say about that?

[Separovic] The fact that such a law must be enacted can also be seen in the recommendation of the Council of Europe, which has even created a model for the

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implementation of Resolution 827, where it is recommended that all countries should harmonize their legislation with the resolution and the statute of the International Tribunal. Point four of Resolution 827 also speaks about that when it says that every state must take all necessary measures foreseen in their laws in order to be able to implement the provisions of the resolution and of the statute. So that only the enactment of that law, if the assembly passes it, will solve the legal and political dilemma as to whether extradition is possible at all and, if it is, then under what conditions. According to our constitution, nobody may be deprived of his freedom nor may anybody's freedom be limited unless it is so provided in the legislation, and it is the court that decides on that. Besides, every person that has been arrested has the right to appeal to the court, which will then decide on the lawfulness of that case. In other words, the rights of those people who have been accused before the international tribunal must also be protected, i.e. they must also have protection before the courts in the Republic of Croatia, in order for the courts to be able to decide whether these people will be extradited to the International Tribunal. All these questions should be regulated in a special law.

[Matosic] What happens in that case with the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina? Does that apply to them as well since they have dual citizenship?

[Separovic] Croatia does not have jurisdiction over Bosnia-Herzegovina, and those people, as far as I know, are not in Croatia, so that at this time we cannot do anything.

[Matosic] And what about General Blaskic, who has been appointed an inspector of the Croatian Army by the president of the republic?

[Separovic] I cannot comment on the president's decisions and that applies to this appointment, too, but as far as I know, the extradition request has also been addressed to the Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Matosic] Recently Mr. Goldstone said that he had been working intensely on the investigation of crimes committed after the "Storm" military operation. Why is attention being focused precisely on that period, and what has the Croatian judiciary found out about all that?

[Separovic] Individual killings and plunder that occurred after the "Storm" military operation have by no means contributed to our international reputation, and have in a way darkened that brilliantly performed military operation. In the same way, I have to say that Croatian courts, at the request of the state prosecutor, have initiated proceedings against persons who did that and we are expecting trials soon about which the public will be informed. In contacts with Mr. Goldstone we did not learn anything about any possible preparations of the international tribunal, for any sort of action in that sense, but we expressed our clear guarantees that all of them would be tried before Croatian courts.

[Matosic] Can you comment on the president's recent decision on an amnesty for the citizens of Serb nationality? Different interpretations appeared in the public after that, claiming that that act was contrary to the Law on Amnesty.

[Separovic] This presidential act and the Law on Amnesty are not legally connected or mutually conditional. The Law on Amnesty speaks about amnesty for certain criminal deeds as distinct from those that Croatia is obliged to prosecute according to international conventions, and it applies to the period from 1991 to 10 January 1995. Everything that has happened after that date is not encompassed by that law. The president of the republic has a constitutional right to proclaim an amnesty. One of those acts of amnesty, at the proposal of the ministry of justice, refers to the suspension of ongoing proceedings. However, I have to stress once again that this applies exclusively to the criminal part of the armed rebellion, but without any court evidence that could show that those persons have committed any form of war crime. The president decided on this out of goodwill in order to normalize Croat-Serb relations but also in order to contribute to the search for missing and imprisoned Croats with this act, and that is the essence of that act of amnesty.

[Matosic] After the act of amnesty, was there confusion followed by disorganization regarding the transport and accommodation of those people?

[Separovic] There was absolutely no confusion. Everything was well prepared because we had worked on that. A general staff was formed, which consisted of representatives of the office for displaced persons, the police and the ministry. Moreover, everyone departed in a single day, to their relatives, or for temporary accommodation in the Gasinci camp organized by the office for displaced persons if they had nowhere else to go, or they expressed a wish to go to Serbia.

[Matosic] There have been some complaints that there were a number of unfair acts at trials of citizens of Serb nationality? Are those claims true?

[Separovic] There is no truth in such claims. There were not even many objections, and all the objections that we received were examined by the courts, and it was found that it simply was not true. [passage omitted]

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Croatia: Rights Activist Urges War Criminals' Arrest

AU2401161496 Paris AFP in English 1444 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 24 (AFP)—A human rights campaigner on Wednesday called on the international community to start arresting war crimininals from the former Yugoslavia or jeopardize any chance of peace.

"If the international community do not start to arrest the war criminals, and if there is no real pressure to investigate their crimes, then there will be no real peace," Zvonimir Cicak, of the Croatian delegation to the Helsinki Committee on human rights, said.

The Hague-based International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has so far charged 52 suspected war criminals but just two have been arrested.

Cicak claimed the majority were "living freely" in Belgrade, Zagreb or in Bosnian Serb zones controlled by the NATO-led peace implementation force (IFOR).

"The crucial question is to know what is the role of IFOR," he said.

"Are they just here to play the same game as the UN did, or are they real soldiers willing to stop the war, to protect civilians and to arrest criminals?"

IFOR's role includes arresting suspected war criminals if forces come across them, but it is not charged with actively tracking them down.

Croatia: Daily Urges Force To Stop Serb Settlers

AU2401155396 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by Mirko Sajler: "Serb Invasion of Croatian Podunavlje"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The devilish plan concocted in Belgrade to "undermine" the Erdut-Zagreb and Dayton agreements and the attempts by the international community to reintegrate eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem peacefully into the constitutional and legal order of Croatia are now being worked out in great detail by the self-styled Serb leaders in Croatia's occupied east. As always, the Belgrade hegemonists are basing their strategy on a great shift of the population. Although already exhausted by migration, one part of the Serb people are again meant to serve as a live shield and an obstacle to the implementation of the Dayton agreement—that is, the peaceful reintegration of the currently occupied eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem into the Croatian state.

What is this all about? The Belgrade screenwriters who wanted to create some kind of a "greater Serbia" on the ruins of the former Yugoslavia are again playing cynical games with part of the Serb nation. All those now living in Serbia with the status of refugees from Croatia would have to move again. An insidious plan has been created to populate as soon as possible the Croatian Podunavlje [Danube River basin] with 30,000 Serbs from western Slavonia, the Knin area, and other parts of Croatia, Serbs who were forced into fleeing by the Serbian propaganda even before the outbreak of this bloody war. At the beginning, part of the Croatian Serbs (western Slavonia, 1991) fled without reason, frightened by their own leaders with tales of their fate at the hands of "the ustashas." They moved to the Banja Luka region and the northern and southern occupied areas of Croatia.

Belgrade Wants To Change Ethnic Makeup

When the Croatian Army liberated that part of its homeland in brilliant operations, these people—who were pawns in the hands of the Serbian hegemonistic machinery—had to move to Bosnia and Serbia. Today they again have to move toward the Croatian east for two reasons: Serbia wants to get rid of refugees and at the same time occupy all of the Croatian Podunavlje, thus preventing the return of the Croats, Hungarians, and other non-Serbs who were forced to flee in the face of Serb aggression. Belgrade's wish is to create a Serb-dominated ethnic makeup in the Croatian east, and then one day have a referendum called in which the population in the Croatian Podunavlje will vote on with whom and in what kind of state they want to live. After all, this is stated very openly by Milan Milanovic, Slavko Dokmanovic, and Boro Drazic, the self-styled leaders from eastern Slavonia and Baranja, who appear every evening on Beli Manastir TV and Vukovar TV.

The recent statements by the leaders of the rebel Serbs show how they understand the Dayton agreement and interpret the mandate of the UN Transitional Administration of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem [UNTAES]. Milanovic wants Croatia to pay the Serb refugees compensation for the property they left in Croatia, and then these Serbs can decide where they want to live. When he speaks of the UNTAES mandate, Milanovic says that the international forces have arrived in the region to secure the border between the so-called "Srem-Baranja region" and Croatia, and prevent a possible Serb aggression on these "ancestral Serb lands." According to Milanovic, the police and customs of the so-called Srem-Baranja region will remain on the border with the so-called Yugoslavia—that is, on the Danube. After all these statements, he also added the following: "The Serb side will enable the return of Croatian

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refugees but not before the fate of the Serb refugees from Croatia is resolved."

Dokmanovic Writes to Klein About "Croatian Trickery"

The "gem" of all these statements is certainly the demand by Slavko Dokmanovic, self-styled chairman of some kind of a council of the so-called Srem-Baranja region, sent to U.S. General Jacques Klein that "the expression eastern Slavonia has to be dropped out off the name of the operation of the international forces and all official documents since the use of that expression is Croatian trickery intended to shown the world that Croatia has access to the Danube via Slavonia, and thus has the status of a Danube River valley country." For this, Dokmanovic says, there are no "historical" grounds. It would be interesting to learn what kind of schools Dokmanovic attended, who taught him "history" and "geography," and what marks he got for these two subjects. It is obvious that the transitional administration and General Jacques Klein face serious problems in the implementation of the agreement that brought them to the currently occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia. After all, Belgrade is up to its old tricks again—sign anything you have to, but then ignore it all.

This time Serbia—that is, the "FRY"—got rid of the sanctions with its signature. Whether this is temporary or not will be known soon when it becomes clear how the international community will react to all this. Croatia must demand from UNTAES to prevent a new "Serb migration" to the Croatian east. If it does not, then Croatia as an independent, internationally recognized state and UN member has the right to use armed force to liberate its occupied territory and protect it from an invasion from the east.

Croatia: Resettlement of Serb Refugees Viewed

AU2401215496 Beli Manastir Televizija Republike Srpske Krajine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian propaganda machinery, spurred on by dark and evil intentions, has lately been deluding Tudjman's population with information that more Serbs are arriving to the territory of the Srem-Baranja District overnight, using ferries to cross the Danube River. Zagreb is probably trying to say that the Serbs are not supposed to come to their Serb land, Serb Baranja, and Serb Western Srem, except illegally. Of course, they never said a word about the fact that people coming to the Srem-Baranja District are refugees from the western parts of Krajina, whose houses were torched, looted, and hoarded by the Croatian Army in an act of aggression called Operation Storm.

A couple of days ago, Franjo Tudjman—Tito's one-time favorite and general, model party member, presently father of a mentally and morally fallen nation-called those unscrupulous crimes committed by his phalanxes all over Northern Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, and Banija a historic achievement. What morbid cynicism! The wretched man also said that his beautiful country has become a regional force. Wishful thinking!

But this text is not about Tudjman's pathological observations. This commentary is about the program of settling refugees into the Srem-Baranja District, which began recently. Croatia would have declared the project a Serb aggression, if it were not for the fact that the Erdut Agreement and the Dayton Accord specify that all refugees from the area may return to the Srem-Baranja District, as well as all refugees and displaced persons from other parts of Croatia. In other words, they are not coming here illegally, crossing the Danube overnight, but legally, in plain daylight using bridges to cross the river under the auspices of the international community. More and more Serbs are coming and it is expected that the planned number of about 30,000 Serb refugees will be much higher, as over 5,000 will settle in Baranja alone. There is plenty of room for everyone!

Croatia: Official Surveys SFRY Succession Issues

AU2401185696 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 96 pp 11-12

[Interview with Bozo Marendic, head of the Croatian Government Office in Charge of the Succession of Former Yugoslavia, by Drazen Curic: "In Fact, Political and Moral Aspects Are More Important To Us Than the Material Ones"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The value of the common property which, according to international conventions, should go into the succession, that is, an equal division among the successor states of former Yugoslavia, amounts to several tens of billions of dollars, according to independent sources. What are the Croatian demands and what are the chances that those demands will be realized? Will the international community, as so far, satisfy first of all the demands of Serbia and Montenegro, or will the succession be carried out in accordance with international law? Bozo Marendic, head of the Croatian Goverment Office in Charge of the Succession of Former Yugoslavia, talks to VJESNIK. Our first question was:

[Curic] How extensive is all the property envisaged for succession?

[Marendic] It is not easy to answer that question, because every answer contains within itself also a

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series of omissions. First of all I think of the problems regarding the methodology by which the evaluation of the particular elements of the property would be carried out. Of course, the question of the moment at which the evaluation is carried out also arises, and can the value of individual elements envisaged for the succession be added up at all? It is probably the least difficult to evaluate certain buildings, for instance, the real estate abroad. One can evaluate it in the way that you ask how much would such a building cost if one would start constructing it once again; the second possibility is to assess its market value; and the third question is what is its current value on the books.

The evaluation of the real estate which former Yugoslavia possessed abroad has been made by the famous auditing firm of Peat-Marwick. This evaluation involves embassies, residences, consulates, and other business premises, and their value is estimated at some $250 million. However, the functional value is several times higher, at least twice as high, that is $500 million. The property at home should be evaluated in a market manner, and that, naturally, depends upon the moment at which the estimation takes place. Namely, it is not at all the same whether this evaluation was made at the time when Yugoslavia was united, during the war, or now, after Dayton.

[Curic] Is there an agreement on which time that value is to be estimated?

[Marendic] Unfortunately, there is no agreement at all with Serbia and Montenegro. We have, unfortunately, not succeeded in making an agreement on the general approach regarding the succession. First of all, they are against the succession because they think that Croatia and other countries have seceded from Yugoslavia, that they have done it forcefully and illegally, and that therefore they have no rights at all. Such a stand of the current Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has no standing in international law, not even in the internal law of former Yugoslavia.

How Can We Interpret Article 4?

[Curic] Will the Croatian position worsen after the Dayton agreements, where the state continuity of Serbia and Montenegro was recognized in a certain way?

[Marendic] It is a draft agreement on the normalization of relations between Croatia and the FRY which, as you know, was not signed in Paris, although it had been expected to be signed. Article 4 deals with that question and it has two aspects. The first paragraph says that Serbia and Montenegro had their states before the creation of Yugoslavia, and that Croatia will not oppose the FRY joining the United Nations and other international organizations, if other countries have no objections about it. Nevertheless, the second paragraph explains that Croatia's stand will not affect the matters of succession, which must respect the opinion of the Badinter Commission that Yugoslavia has disintegrated, and that the states which appeared after the collapse of Yugoslavia are totally equal. Beyond that, Croatia has sent another letter in which it is precisely explained what Croatia meant in Article 4 and in what way Croatia interprets it.

[Curic] What is the stand of other countries which appeared after the fall of Yugoslavia?

[Marendic] The other states have not explained themselves. When they heard Croatia's stand in Dayton, they expressed certain concern and asked for additional explanations. We have given those explanations and we think that we have eliminated certain fears.

[Curic] What is the international community's opinion about the succession?

[Marendic] It is not a simple answer because the international community is not a monolithic entity. When, for instance, the European Union [EU] appears in a united and official way, it always refers to the principles determined by the Badinter Commission, that is, that all the countries are equal successors. However, certain member states in the EU would be ready to neglect the succession, to conduct it in a way which is not on the whole based upon international conventions and international law. France and Great Britain, in some way, want to make the situation easier for Serbia.

[Curic] Russia, probably, has the same stand?

[Marendic] No. Russia has exactly in that regard had an opportunity to explain itself and on that occasion the Russians supported the approach based upon international law.

[Curic] And what about the United States?

[Marendic] Regarding the whole of its stands associated with the succession, one can say that it has been rather passive. As late as in Dayton, the United States grew more interested in it. Meanwhile, as in any big politics, it was also ready to sacrifice some aspects of the succession in order to achieve political goals.

[Curic] To what extent would Croatia be ready to "sacrifice" elements of the succession for higher goals?

[Marendic] One should review also the part of the problem which is linked to moral, political, and historical implications. We are—and perhaps that is an answer to your question—in that regard more interested and we would like the process of succession to be carried out

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regularly and entirely. However, the succession cannot be carried out without the international community's support, and if the community wants to do that partially, it will be very hard for us to realize our wishes entirely.

The political and moral components are perhaps even more important to us than the material ones. Ultimately, this famous Article 4 shows that. However, Serbia and Montenegro understand the continuity in a much broader sense than we wanted to express by that gesture of ours. Therefore, after all, we have secured ourselves with an additional letter.

We Have Tried To Prevent Unfreezing of Assets Through Court Proceedings

[Curic] The most frequent disputes have to do with the foreign currency reserves which remained the "property" of the FRY immediately after Yugoslavia's disintegration. Then they were frozen, and after Dayton they are once again at the disposal of the Government of Yugoslavia.

[Marendic] We estimate that on the eve of the former SFRY's collapse foreign currency reserves amounted to around $5.5 billion. Naturally, this is an estimate because we have not yet been able to see concrete accounting reports. I would like to remind you that Croatia and Slovenia were excluded from the former Yugoslav monetary system as early as June 1991.

[Curic] So, at this moment the FRY uses that money.

[Marendic] As you know, in 1992 the international community froze the FRY's assets. By certain resolutions the international community has frozen all the foreign currency assets of the state of Yugoslavia. The accounts of the National Bank of Yugoslavia on which there had been common foreign currency reserves, the assets of other state institutions, as well as of individual persons. Those resolutions were valid until 22 November 1995, when the UN Security Council decided by the Resolution 1022 to suspend the embargo on the assets, if Serbia fulfills the obligations accepted in Dayton.

[Curic] Can the Government of the FRY use the foreign currency reserves at this moment?

[Marendic] The answer to that question is not simple. Unfortunately, Resolution 1022 was worded in a way which enables individual states to decide on their own whether they will suspend the foreign currency embargo. Great Britain and France have in a certain way expressed readiness to allow the FRY to use those assets. We have tried to prevent that; we have tried to dispute those intentions.

[Curic] What are the results?

[Marendic] We have done our maximum and we will probably achieve some results.

[Curic] The largest entry in the property is the value of military equipment and establishments.

[Marendic] This property is estimated at $70 billion. Since the Serbs do not allow us access to the documents, we use various "alternative" sources, from scientific studies to news articles, in order to get an approximately accurate estimation. In that regard we have very good cooperation with Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], as well as with the international community. So, there is our evaluation of the military property, which was worth $70 billion in 1990. The "Crest" organization, which specializes in such business, has reached a similar figure. However, when the FRY generals heard that, they almost "fell off their chairs" and they did not even approximately admit the estimated value.

Unwilling Acceptance of Cooperation

[Curic] How much of the total quantity of military establishments and equipment is under Croatia's control?

[Marendic] We are still dealing with the evaluation of military establishments and equipment controlled by the Croatian Army. We can already say that it is a significant part of the total military property.

[Curic] What about the works of art?

[Marendic] Such a separate entry, according to international law, does not exist. Namely, the works of art are treated as parts of equipment of the establishments in which they find themselves. But if, for instance, some painting has cultural and national significance, then a special request can be made. In that sense a work of art is treated like a file.

[Curic] Has Croatia made any request to get the files currently in Belgrade?

[Marendic] Unfortunately, the representatives of the FRY have not expressed particular readiness for cooperation and compromise. However, I must say that in the field of archives they have shown the largest level of respect for the international right but still below the necessary level, so that we have not reached agreement on the crucial things. It has been agreed that all the files produced in the territories which are not within the FRY would be returned, and that all the files produced by joint institutions must be in one place. We have not yet agreed upon the way those files will be handled.

[Curic] However, when the point in question are the debts of the former SFRY, there have been no problems.

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Have the debts been equally distributed to all the successor states?

[Marendic] That process is under way, it has been finished within the framework of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and Slovenia, which has a slight advantage before us, has also ended the negotiations with the Paris Club. The IMF has proposed that so-called non-allocated debts, that is debts the final user of which cannot be determined, should be distributed among the countries. Then, it has been proposed that not only the debts, but also the assets should be distributed. Croatia has won 28.49 percent, which approximately corresponds to its share in the social product which Croatia had in Yugoslavia. However, within the Paris negotiations, the explicit conclusion was that it had been a contemporary distribution of the debt and that the final distribution would be defined by the Agreement on Succession. So, the process is underway, and it is not finished at all. It is interesting that this is the only sphere upon which all the states have come to at least some agreement.

[Curic] According to the world experience so far, how long does a process of succession take?

[Marendic] It is a long and continuous process. Regarding the first phase, the international community has prepared the agreement and it can happen that this agreement will be finished in a couple of months. It is most likely that Serbia will not accept the agreement and therefore one should go to the Security Council in order to ensure the implementation of the agreement.

[Curic] Can Croatia say that the draft agreement is favorable?

[Marendic] We have accepted the first part of the agreement, which talks about the principles, but we have also reserved the right to evaluate the agreement globally. The second part of the agreement is finished, but it has not been presented officially. However, on the whole we can be satisfied, of course, with certain corrections which we will try to carry out.

[Curic] What basic Croatian demands does this part of the agreement fulfill?

[Marendic] When I said that we accepted it, that is because the agreement is based upon the principles which are congruent with our platform. Some problems directly connected with the succession have not been treated in it.

[Curic] What exactly is that about?

[Marendic] The final draft agreement does not include certain implications of the war damages.

[Curic] Can you tell us something about the percentage of the property which would fall to Croatia?

[Marendic] We are trying to achieve that the general criteria of the distribution of assets and liabilities is around 28 percent, which means that both assets and liabilities would belong to Croatia in that proportion. Of course, depending upon individual segments, this percentage can also be very different.

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Poland: Prime Minister Oleksy Resigns

LD2501130996 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1235 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan—After talks with the prime minister lasting nearly two hours, President Aleksander Kwasniewski told correspondents that, in accordance with his earlier announcement, Jozef Oleksy had tendered his resignation from the post of prime minister.

The president announced that the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] had proposed the candidatures of Marek Borowski and Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz for the post of prime minister. At the same time, Kwasniewski added that the SLD leadership would approve the candidature of Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] for the post.

Kwasniewski also announced that consultations are to be held with parliamentary groups, including the Union of Freedom and the Union of Labor, which are in opposition.

Poland: Oleksy Resignation Statement

LD2401200896 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1901 GMT 24 Jan 96

[Statement by Jozef Oleksy, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fellow countrymen, a propaganda uproar against me, my party, and the coalition is under way. This is prejudicial to the interests of the Polish state. The citizen's peace is disturbed. The governance of the state has to remain undisrupted.

I have thought about all of this. I concluded that my affairs and my future have to be put to one side in the name of the state imperative. Consequently, I have decided to tender my resignation from the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers.

My resignation is not capitulation before the public pressure of groundless, but so painful and rabid, accusations. It is connected with the beginning of the clarification of the matter, which is envisaged in democratic procedures.

I am glad that the prosecutor's office decided to begin the procedure of clarification. Let us imagine what an outcry there would be over an attempt to suppress the matter if the prosecutor's office made a different decision.

I am resigning because I am innocent. I do not want to be suspected of any willingness to conceal anything by hiding behind the high office of the Polish Republic. I have nothing to hide. I am not afraid of honest investigative proceedings. I need them because only such proceedings can show the truth and clear my name from accusations and break this ruthless witch hunt that was unleashed against me, the government, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], and the entire coalition.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am neither the first nor the last Polish politician to be covered with dirt. But I am the first Polish prime minister who was slandered in such bad style and with such a great amount of hatred.

A crisis of the state was declared, there were demands that the Left should abandon power. Ladies and gentlemen, there is no crisis of the Polish state. All of its institutions are working, the government is fulfilling its tasks, citizens' matters are being settled, and I am convinced that all this is being done well and ever more efficiently. The parliament is working, confirming its mandate with its activity and respect. The courts and tribunals are working, as well, and the prosecutor's office. There is no crisis in Poland. And it is about time to stop using this to frighten our society.

What is taking place, however, is a brutal struggle for power. This operation has had its script. It arouses in me disgust and fear for the future of the country, for Poland's image in the eyes of Europe and the world, but most of all for the activities of special services, which are hidden from the public. While they should serve the state, once again they have become a threat to this state.

First, shortly before the first round of the presidential elections, the breaking of a back was officially announced. After the first round, there were talks about blows after which a jaw would drop. Next, day after day, there were announcements about threats to the security of the state.

Act Two was the accusation of the outgoing prime minister of allegedly willful spying. Because such accusations soon appeared nonsensical, a milder version started to circulate to the effect that there were improper acquaintances.

Act Three, and let us hope the last one, is now in progress. While announcing a crisis of the state, there are demands to de-legalize my party. This is being done in order to change the decision of the public expressed in the elections. There are demands to de-legalize the Social Democratic Party, which won the elections twice. And this is what it was all about right from the start, about regaining lost power without care for the rule of law, without respect for public rights, without the balance of costs to the state and society, and without taking into account with what astonishment such methods of political struggle were met by the world.

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The political opposition groups, in spite of parliamentary and legal procedures to clear this matter being instituted, unceremoniously got involved in the campaign of hasty judgement. Let us have no illusions. The objective of the opposition, which is not even concealed, is, first, to divide and to set against each other the members of the present coalition of equal partners, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the SLD. After all, this is the only way to transform defeat at the ballot box into success in power plays.

Second, the opposition wants at any price to attribute to itself the successes of the PSL-SLD rule: the high rate of economic growth, the reduction of inflation, the fall in unemployment, and a radical improvement in Poland's credibility in international eyes. Some Poles are finally beginning to rid themselves of hopelessness and look to the future with greater confidence. So the opposition does not want to allow such changes for the better in Poland to be associated with rule by the PSL and the SLD.

And third, the Right and the whole of the defeated opposition evidently cannot tolerate the thought that it is President Kwasniewski and the PSL-SLD coalition and its government who have the chance to bring Poland into the euro-atlantic structures and a united Europe.

This is the true background to the present crisis.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are exceptional historical circumstances, when the curtain of secrecy has to be lifted for our mental well-being.

Consequently, in the interests of Polish democracy and the citizen's confidence in the state, I firmly demand that a white paper be published containing all, absolutely all, of the documents connected with this unprecedented affair. Not just those that UOP [State Protection Office] has supplied but also others that are held in the archives. Let the Poles learn for themselves what the truth is.

Things in Poland can no longer be like this. We can no longer tolerate a situation where several high-ranking ambitious officers of the internal affairs department can pronounce citizens guilty or not guilty. It cannot be that secret investigative documents are bought almost like at a flea market. It cannot be that, by purchasing appraisals and opinions from foreign agents, the special services issue judgments about the morality of domestic politicians to the detriment of Polish sovereignty.

Poland cannot be subjected to manipulation by people who every season change their declarations of loyalty but in fact forget that they should be loyal to the state rather than to the politicians elected by themselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, today we all learned about the decision by the Prosecutor's Office of the Warsaw Military District. I accept it with all due respect for the laws of the Republic and with personal satisfaction. I will not infringe in any way the procedural requirements of the law-enforcement bodies. I will answer every question.

Ladies and gentlemen, in spite of the fact that a variety of kangaroo courts have already pronounced my guilt, I feel no anger. I feel concern and anxiety. Concern for Poland, which has been enormously wronged. Concern for those who may encounter something similar. I am anxious lest we again live in fear of a police state, which was supposed to have been forever left in the past.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank all those fellow countrymen who in their majority did not believe the slander against me. I thank all those of you who expressed your affection and support for me in thousands of letters. I am not able to respond to all of these, but I sincerely thank you all. You acted properly and in accordance with the truth, which will be revealed. I thank the foreign politicians and journalists for their circumspection and objectivity in appraising the current situation in Poland.

Now it is no longer a question of Jozef Oleksy; the Polish state, our democracy, and the rule of law are at stake. It is true that the political system has to be able to cope with this complicated situation. And it will. I believe in law, democracy, and justice. I calmly await the outcome of their operation.

I declare before you, my fellow countrymen, that I have never been disloyal to Poland, I have never harmed my homeland.

Poland: New PM Sought; Reaction to Oleksy Resignation

WS2501120396 Warsaw RZECZPOSPPOLITA in Polish 25 Jan 96 pp 1-2

[Article by "E.Cz., E.O., K.Gr.": "Coalition Talks on Restructuring the Government Today"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Following Jozef Oleksy's resignation, leaders of the coalition are to meet today. As Deputy Sejm Speaker Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] points out, the coalition agreement provides that, because the Sejm speaker is from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the prime minister should be from the left. Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych of the PSL claims that the agreement could be renegotiated.*

President Aleksander Kwasniewski did not comment on the prime minister's resignation. We do know, however,

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that a meeting was held last night at the Presidential Palace with the participation of, among others, Secretary of State Marek Siwiec; Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the SLD Parliamentary Club; and Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak, of the PSL. Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, commenting on the prime minister's decision, said that Jozef Oleksy behaved with dignity and had observed the Constitution by informing the speaker beforehand about the content of his address to the nation.

"Claims that the decision of the prosecutor to launch an investigation proves the validity of the charges are groundless," said Deputy Sejm Speaker Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. "Such an interpretation is completely illegitimate. In making his decision, the prosecutor came to the conclusion that an investigation should be launched in order to examine the validity of the charges and the value of the evidence. The prime minister's decision has saddened us, but we understand," said Cimoszewicz. "In his address to the nation, the prime minister once again stressed that he was innocent, and yet he resigned so as not hamper the investigation."

Prime Minister, as Agreed

Leaders of the SLD-PSL coalition are to talk today about restructuring the government and appointing a new prime minister. Several days ago, PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak suggested Miroslaw Pietrewicz, head of the Central Planning Office, for this post. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz claims that, in talks on restructuring the government, both sides should observe the coalition agreement, which provides that, if the Sejm speaker is from the PSL, the prime minister should be from the SLD. "I will present this argument at the coalition meeting," said Cimoszewicz.

The deputy Sejm speaker did not rule out the possibility that today's discussion might also be devoted to Justice Minister and Prosecutor General Jerzy Jaskiernia, whose resignation the opposition has been demanding for some time, a solution the PSL is beginning to find appealing. According to Cimoszewicz, the prime minister's resignation provides an opportunity to discuss the effectiveness of each minister and replace the less capable ones so as to repair the image of the current Cabinet. He did not, however, mention any names.

Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych stated that the prime minister of a new, reconstructed government should be a coalition candidate, not a representative of just one party. The PSL will come up with a name only if the coalition agrees that the prime minister should be a representative of that party.

Asked what the PSL would do if the SLD quoted the coalition agreement providing that the Sejm speaker and prime minister represent different coalition parties, Zych said that the agreement could be renegotiated for the sake of state interests and common sense. Deputy Prime Minister Roman Jagielinski said at a news conference in Elblag voivodship yesterday that the PSL has many candidates for prime minister. He mentioned, apart from Miroslaw Pietrewicz, [Senate Speaker] Adam Struzik, Aleksander Luczak, and himself. Of Waldemar Pawlak, he said: "The best cards are always kept until the end." Speaker Zych claims that the coalition should reach an agreement before 27 January so that the central organs of the coalition parties that are due to meet on that day could approve the decisions made by their leaders.

The Opposition: A Belated Decision

"What a pity this came so late," said Tadeusz Syryjczyk of the Freedom Union. "I think Oleksy should have suspended his duties immediately, then his decision would have been more credible. But better late than never. I hope this decision will put an end to the period of general crisis of executive power in Poland. The prime minister used his televised address to discredit the opposition. He forgot that the state crisis, the crisis of trust, is, among other things, a result of the fact that neither he nor his party was capable of a reaction to the recent developments for the past five weeks.

"Now the president has to take the initiative and announce a candidate for prime minister. I think this makes it less probable that the PSL will leave the coalition. Yet it does still remain an open issue."

According to Ryszard Bugaj, chairman of the Union of Labor, "This was a very good decision, only several weeks too late." "From this viewpoint, it is even worse for Oleksy because now his decision is less credible, made when the charges against him materialized to a certain extent. The tone of his address was unprecedented. I think that address heralds an unprecedented war in Poland. When this prime minister, with his past, talks of a 'police state,' it is hard to refrain from retorting that he himself had supported that police state for years.

"I do not think the opposition should persuade the PSL to do anything. Let it do what it wants and take full responsibility for it."

In a comment for the Polish News Agency, Lech Walesa said that the prime minister's decision "was very late." He maintains that the charges the prime minister made in his address are "plain viciousness." Walesa expressed his hope that the courts and the prosecutor's office "will eliminate the style the prime minister has been

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exhibiting." The former president saw the second half of the address as an attack on him. He claims that Oleksy's charge that the secret services are trying to destabilize the state "is the limit, it is not true."

Fourteen Days To Form a New Government

"Following the statement made by the head of the Council of Ministers, the president will take appropriate action in observance of the provisions of the small constitution," informed the Presidential Press Office last night. The small constitution provides that, once the prime minister submits his resignation, the new head of the Council of Ministers is appointed by the president. "I do not think Aleksander Kwasniewski will appoint a new head of government without consulting representatives of the coalition," said Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. A meeting will be held most probably this Friday [26 January]. Speaker Jozef Zych told RZECZPOSPOLITA that an additional Sejm session will be held if need be.

According to the [small] constitution, the prime minister must hand his resignation to the president; this is expected to take place today. Article 64 provides that, when the head of the Council of Ministers resigns from office, he hands in the resignation of the entire Cabinet. The president approves the resignation and asks the prime minister to continue performing his duties until a new government is appointed. Within 14 days of having received the resignation, the president designates a new head of the Council of Ministers and appoints a new government, under the condition that within 14 days the Sejm passes a vote of confidence in the new cabinet. The vote of confidence is passed by an absolute majority (Article 57 of the small constitution).

Poland: Ruling Coalition Parties Meeting

LD2501174396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1432 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan—Shortly after 1500 today, a meeting of the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] and PSL [Polish Peasant Party] coalition began at the Council of Ministers building. It is expected that the government reconstruction will be the main topic of discussion.

On the SLD side, the meeting is being attended by Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Marek Borowski, and Leszek Miller. The PSL is represented by Waldemar Pawlak, Aleksander Luczak, Jozef Zych, and Roman Jagielinski.

Poland: Formal Investigation of Oleksy Case Launched

LD2401151596 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1506 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 24 Jan—The Prosecutor's Office of the Warsaw Military District has begun a formal investigation into the accusations that Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy collaborated with a foreign intelligence service.

Poland: Further on Decision To Investigate Oleksy Case

LD2401154196 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1518 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Warsaw Military District Prosecutor's Office today launched a formal investigation into the "allegation included in the internal affairs minister's reports of 19 December and 16 January that Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy passed information to a foreign intelligence service and participated in foreign intelligence service activities through Vladimir Alganov and Grigoriy Yakimishin," Colonel Wlodzimierz Pospiech, chief of the Military Prosecutor's Office's press office, announced.

The decision to launch the investigation was made by Deputy Prosecutor Colonel Slawomir Gorzkiewicz after he familiarized himself with the documents supplied by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The preparatory proceedings will be carried out as a prosecutor's office's own investigation.

Poland: Procedures To Be Followed in Oleksy Case

LD2401182196 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Warsaw Military District Prosecutor's Office has started a formal investigation into the case of the alleged provision of information to a foreign intelligence service by Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy. The military prosecutor's office reported that the evidence submitted by the Internal Affairs Ministry was in the form of operational records. Consequently, it had to be verified through the proper procedures, which is possible only in the course of criminal proceedings.

The Chief Military Prosecutor's Office spokesman, Colonel Wlodzimierz Pospiech, explained that, at the present stage, the case had insufficient evidence to warrant the investigation of an individual; consequently, the investigation related only to the case.

[Begin Pospiech recording] The prosecutor's office is conducting the investigation as its own investigation, and the procedures that normally apply in cases of

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this kind will be pursued. Witnesses will be heard, prosecutors will examine real evidence in the case, and, most generally speaking, they will be trying to process under the proper procedures the evidence that has been passed to the Military Prosecutor's Office in the form of operational records by the State Protection Office. [end recording]

Poland: UOP To Be Excluded From Oleksy Case

LD2501121296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0800 GMT 25 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Wlodzimierz Pospiech, spokesman for the chief Military Prosecutor's Office, has said that, in connection with attempts to make the case of the alleged contacts between Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy and a foreign intelligence service a political issue, the State Protection Office [UOP] will not take part in the investigation carried out by the prosecutor's office. According to Pospiech, some statements by Andrzej Milczanowski, the former Ministry of Internal Affairs head concerning, as he put it, an attempt to deal with the case behind the scenes without the involvement of the prosecutor's office, show the attempt to make Oleksy's case a political issue. In Pospiech's view, the date of its disclosure is further proof of this.

The prosecutor's spokesman recalled on Polish radio that launching the investigation did not mean that the prime minister had been charged with anything. He added that it is not clear whether the supplied documents would be sufficient to press charges. Pospiech stressed that, if they were, there would be the possibility of putting Oleksy in temporary custody. He explained that such a preventive measure often used to apply in cases of this nature.

Poland: President: Elections Best Solution If No Accord

LD2401233296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to President Aleksandr Kwasniewski, if there is not political will for accord in Poland in the immediate future, parliamentary elections should become the best solution.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] If there is a lack of will for agreement, if exotic alliances are emerging, if it suddenly appears that parties of totally different economic programs come to the conclusion that this is not so important because there is something else that is more important, then I think it is only honest to turn to public opinion, to go to the country and ask how it sees things.

Poland has to give an impulse to social normalcy. At the end of the 20th century, one cannot live in a country that bears a close resemblance to the United States of the McCarthy era, when everybody had something against anybody else. I think the coming days will show whether there is a trend in Poland to stabilize the situation or not. [end recording]

Poland: Commentary: Foreign Policy Changing

WS2401154796 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Jan 96 p 7

[Commentary by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk: "Polish Foreign Policy; Something Is Changing After All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign policy employs many techniques. One of them is diplomacy, which is nothing but the art of achieving goals. In diplomacy, nothing is more important than the word, the way arguments are presented to the right listener. Statements issued on significant matters become the object of in-depth analyses carried out by experts, with the aim of uncovering a more or less disguised thought.

Press reports claim that, during his trip to Brussels, President Aleksander Kwasniewski had very good rapport with his partners in both the EU and NATO. Simply speaking, he made a good impression. The only exception was a wry comment made by a Canadian reporter who said he was "too sure of himself, nearly arrogant," mentioned GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Feeling like a fish in water, President Kwasniewski said in Brussels that the issue of Poland's membership in NATO "will be discussed in Moscow, Brussels, and Washington and with our partners." Recently appointed Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati had already said at his first news conference that, "as far NATO is concerned, the truth is that we absolutely have to talk with Russia."

It is worth asking how these statements should be understood. Is this, as some politicians have said, only a difference in wording between those who previously administered the Polish Republic's foreign policy and those who are currently in charge, or is it a harbinger of a significant change?

Thus far, one of the fundamental principles of our foreign policy has been not to enter any negotiations with Moscow on the topic of the pro-West option of the Polish Republic, which has been sovereign since 1989. Poland did not enter any talks or discussions with Russian politicians either at the time of its decision to aspire to join NATO and the EU, or when Russia announced its veto of the project of NATO expansion. "It is not my problem but NATO's how to speak with Russian diplomats," said former Foreign Minister

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Wladyslaw Bartoszewski when Russia protested yet another time against the expansion of NATO.

The arguments used by Warsaw to present and explain the reasons that Poland wants to join NATO—not only to Moscow, but also to Kiev and Minsk—are naturally a different issue.

Our diplomats have been saying for a long time that our aspirations are not targeted against any state, that we are simply taking advantage of the opportunity that arose after the end of the Cold War; that we want to take part in building a bigger and more integrated Europe, in which everyone will feel safe; that we want neither our country nor our region to turn into a gray security zone that could become God's playground for who knows which time.

Poland should not relent in attempts at establishing ever better relations with a neighbor as important as Russia. Yet Russia is not a NATO member; therefore, there is no reason we should ask its permission or negotiate any terms of Polish membership. There is a significant difference between patiently explaining doubts—should Russia ask the Polish Government for such explanations—and discussing in Moscow the issue of our joining NATO. This indicates that Polish foreign policy is changing.

Poland: Walesa Aims To Organize New Bloc

LD2401173796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Former President Lech Walesa has told Polish radio that on 1 February he will hold a meeting with the leaders of 15 parties that originated in the Solidarity movement. Walesa said he intends to organize a bloc in order to win possible early parliamentary elections. In his opinion, new elections, rather than a government reshuffle, could heal the political situation in the country. He added that the possibility for completing the reforms in Poland has now started to emerge. The talks, which commenced in Warsaw yesterday, are being continued in Gdansk today.

When asked about the purchase of materials collected by the security service, he said that for the time being he does not intend to make them public. He will pass them on to the archives when the moment is right.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Andrzej Jelenski] Yesterday you talked to representatives of Solidarity and proindependence groupings. Is the possibility emerging now for the formation of a post-August [1980] camp that would complete the reforms in Poland?

[Walesa] We have no other option. More and more people are starting to understand this. In fact, everyone I have talked to—if you look at the list—has no doubt about that. We can and we must go together.

[Jelenski] Can such a camp be formed around Lech Walesa, provided Walesa is inclined to take into account the wisdom of a large group of people?

[Walesa] Of course, precisely the way you put it. However, I will not be the leader of this camp but, rather, a kind of godfather.

[Jelenski] President, when do you plan to come to Warsaw to properly set in motion the institute under your name?

[Walesa] Probably on 1 February.

[Jelenski] When will you hold further meetings with Poland's post-August groupings?

[Walesa] I am holding them all the time. Today I will have talks in Gdansk. We will continue the talks in Warsaw on 1 February.

[Jelenski] President, recently you revealed that you bought materials concerning yourself that had been collected in the past by the political police. You bought them, and, as you said yourself, you will use them when the need arises. After reports from Moscow about yourself, has such a need already arisen?

[Walesa] This is not exactly correct. Knowing full well that these materials will very soon be destroyed at the paper plant in Swiecie, I have simply tried to secure them. I will immediately pass them on to the archives so that this important documentation is preserved. I am not getting involved in any spying, and I am not showing them to anybody. I have simply secured them and I will pass them on when the time is right. I do not want to keep them for myself. [end recording]

Poland: Euro-Region Seminar Held in Gdansk

WS2401154296 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 17 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by "S:" "Closer to the West"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Euro-Region Seminar

Forty representatives of provincial and local government authorities from northern Poland are taking part in a two-day "Euro-Region" training seminar in Gdansk. The seminar was prepared and financed by the France-Poland Fund.

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The classes are being conducted by members of local governments from upper Normandy—with its famous port, Rouen. They declared support for the preparations for the commemoration of the 1,000th anniversary of Gdansk.

As we have been informed by one of the organizers, Mr. Jerome Baconin, a representative of the French Government, the program objective is to deepen the Poles' knowledge about possibilities and methods of cooperation with the European Union [EU] institutions. [passage omitted]

During the training, seminar participants were familiarized with the EU's most important institutions and ways of cooperation with regions of particular countries, as well as with the methods of acquiring, using, and distributing the union's financial assistance. The role of the Brussels Committee of Regions and European assistance programs for regional ventures was also presented. Advice was given on how to organize the lobbying of a given region in the European committee.

The Gdansk seminar is the first of a series of similar training sessions. Until the end of 1997, they are to be held in, among other places, Katowice, Wroclaw, Poznan, Szczecin, Lublin, and Bialystok.

Poland: Planned Loara Air-Defense System Viewed

WS2501095596 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 18 Jan 96 p 4

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "What Will Happen With the Loara Project? Project To Form Polish Air-Defense System Initiated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The code name "Loara" (Loire) stands for one of the most important Polish arms projects at the close of the century. It is an exceptionally ambitious plan designed to create a Polish system of mobile antiaircraft defense to serve as a shield protecting the national territory and the Armed Forces from air attack for at least several decades into the next century.

In contrast to other concepts presented to the Army by the arms industry, almost all concerned have wholeheartedly voiced support for the Loara project. The Army wants a modern air-defense system built in Poland. The arms industry, for its part, declares it is able to provide the Army with what it needs. Furthermore, the government gave the Loara project SGP (strategic government program) status, which will guarantee solid financial support for the venture in the crucial stage of research and development (450 billion old zlotys [Z] this budget year from funds of the Scientific Research Committee). And on top of all this, companies engaged in the design work that will be manufacturing the equipment have joined forces in a sort of consortium. This is in line with present world trends in this sector of the economy. Theoretically, the Loara project has ideal conditions in these difficult times for its incubation, birth, and development. Only the Huzar (Hussar) project of building a Polish combat chopper has been given equally decent decorations for fruition. Theoretically, at least...

Loara is nothing but the undercarriage of the T-72 tank manufactured in Poland at the Bumar-Labedy plant. Two types of turrets will be mounted on the undercarriage: an artillery turret and a rocket-launcher turret. Each should provide state-of-the-art digital detection and tracking systems of multiple aerial targets approaching at different altitudes, and they will be equipped to destroy them with rapid-fire artillery and with guided missiles in a second option. This rough preliminary sketch of the plan does not seem particularly difficult. The problem, however, lies in the fact that, in contrast to, let us say, the Russians, we have never created our own automated optical-electronic antiaircraft system or produced modern rapid-fire artillery or appropriate missiles.

Therefore, all work will have to start from scratch, or the appropriate licences will have to be purchased abroad so that open doors will not have to be forced. No doubt, if we obtain rights to use appropriate subparts, it will take time for their integration into one faultless system that is lethal for the aggressor and capable of reacting within split seconds. Naturally, the key issue is, looking far into the future, to make a rational choice of the right state-of-the-art foreign subcomponents for the Loara project.

We have learned that last year the General Staff of the Polish Army decided that the principle caliber used by our Army for automatic antiaircraft artillery will be the 35-mm NATO standard. This means that the license for the manufacture of artillery for the Loara project (to be produced in the Tarnow Mechanical Plant) will have to be purchased either from the Swiss company Oerlikon or from the South African consortium Denel-Kentron. There are no other license holders of those caliber guns in the world. According to unofficial yet certain information from various sources independent of each other, a contract has already almost been signed with Oerlikon for KDA light field artillery. Designed in the 1950's, tested and used in the German Bundeswehr's Gepard vehicle, these weapons are somewhat outdated now. Many Army experts are very surprised by this decision. Though KDA's are less expensive, they are at present considered "unmarketable" on world markets. And yet the arms industry would like to be able to export the Loara when it is ready. The KDA production line, purchased by Turkey at one time, is idle because

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there are no prospective buyers of Oerlikon artillery. The Swiss also have a large store of these weapons that nothing can be done about, unless the Poles.... We will therefore join the group of manufacturers of less expensive artillery, which at present stand little chance of being an exportable product.

Experts, very upset about this turn of events, have argued that the new South African GA35 has only 200 components, whereas the old Oerlikon has as many as 1,000. The first fires any type of 35-mm ammunition. The Swiss cannon uses only Swiss shells. The difference is easily measurable. Barrels in this class of cannon can endure approximately 3,000 firings, and the locks can endure about 12,000 shots. A Swiss projectile costs between $160 and $190; other brands are $50 dollars cheaper. The Swiss weapon will shoot $2.1 million worth of shells within its lifetime; the South African piece will fire only $1.5 million worth.

Nevertheless, for some reason these arguments have not met with the understanding of those deciding the future of the Loara project. General Tadeusz Jauer, commander of the air-defense systems of the Polish Army, has justly said he is interested not in the type of cannon to be used but in its effectiveness and reliability. However, many of his officers believe that a mistake was already made right at the start of the program.

What will happen if the consequences become apparent after only a few years, when it is already too late?

It has been said that the future of the project will be decided by animosities characteristic of our industry: between research and development centers and their parent manufacturing companies. The R&D centers are supposedly interested in modernizing slightly outdated licensed products....

All of this is taking place out of our, the taxpayers', money. No one should stint national defense. Nevertheless, public opinion has a right to know whether money is spent in a rational way. Details of such decisions ought to be publicly disclosed because such are the standards for a modern democratic state.

Poland: Privatization Minister on Wielkopolska Region

WS2501092496 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 17 Jan 96 p 4

[Interview with Polish Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek by Leszek Luczak, Zbigniew Pakula, and Jacek Zurawski; place and date not given: "Minister's Wielkopolska Region Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Luczak] How do you assess privatization processes in the Wielkopolska region?

[Kaczmarek] Overall, things are turning out smoothly. There have not been any dramatic, negative examples, although even this region has the notorious "Tonsil." This company was privatized by way of a public offer, one of the first in the country. That was a mistake. The company should have been approached in the same way as, for instance, the Swarzedz furniture plant and relieved of its due financial burdens.

Another problem I encountered in Poznan is that my cooperation with Wielkopolski Bank Kredytowy [WBK] is not quite the way I would like it to be. A great many activities that we undertook jointly did not bring any results. The bank quickly forgot that it once used to be a state-owned business entity. The crisis situation in Tonsil did not come out of the blue. [passage omitted] My attempt to persuade the bank that we jointly try to help Tonsil bore no fruit. The Bank handled the issue in a market and cruel manner. [passage omitted]

[Luczak] Trade unionists from "Lech" Wielkopolska breweries lodged a complaint last year against incomplete, in their view, privatization of the company because the breweries did not hit the stock exchange.

[Kaczmarek] This is just another privatization project that poses a problem in this region for me. To be quite truthful, I have to admit that I cannot recognize the privatization of the breweries as my success. I did not complete the changes there as I originally planned. I will try, however, to complete the sale of the stock the Treasury has in the company. I will try to persuade the stock exchange council to permit the Treasury's 18.5-percent share in the breweries to be publicly traded. If this fails, I will pull the prospectus from the committee and make an offer to sell these shares.

[Luczak] What other companies from Wielkopolska challenge the minister?

[Kaczmarek] A big problem is an unfinished oil-making plant in Szamotuly. This is just another example of a missed opportunity. The frozen capital should be used now, at a time of great market demand for vegetable fats. [passage omitted]

I have some doubts about Pozmeat, too. Its new owners obliged themselves to move out of the downtown area for ecological reasons. I do not know if they have the means to fulfill this commitment. The privatization of Poznan Tobacco plant and Polfa will be relatively easy. Difficult privatization projects were those of the rolling-bearing plant and the Centra battery plant. In sum, there have been many privatization successes in the Wielkopolska region.

[Luczak] And this also is due to the so-called Governor Lecki method, which provides that the money paid by

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the strategic investor is earmarked for investment in a company, not for the state Treasury. This speeds up the privatization process.

[Kaczmarek] The Governor Lecki method is kind of a Poznan approach to the issue. It is successful on a local scale, but, from the Treasury's point of view, the financial benefit is delayed. [passage omitted]

[Luczak] The privatization of the Konin aluminum plant Stockholder [HA SA], whose investor Impexmetal has not been privatized yet, is also stirring up a lot of controversy. Trade unionists at the plant say the plant was sold for a ridiculous amount, and they are protesting.

[Kaczmarek] The willingness to participate in privatization of the plant was expressed by two companies: American Alumax and Polish Impexmetal. The Americans, however, set conditions I could not fulfill. So the Polish investor was left. The charges brought by Konin Region Solidarity trade unionists about *nomenklatura* privatization of the plant do not make any sense. They are told to say this, and they do. It is absurd.

[Luczak] Are you happy with the coming enfranchisement referendum?

[Kaczmarek] The one who came up with the idea to hold the referendum is happy. After it is over, we will not know more than before. It will surely be used to playing a political game. Nevertheless, I think a referendum as such is a good custom that should be introduced to Polish democracy on a permanent basis. Apart from voting in presidential and parliamentary elections, it is worth it; and one should, at least once a year, ask society about the most important matters for the nation. I am not sure whether the subject for the first referendum has been appropriately selected. Ninety percent of Poles do not know what the compensation is and what it results from. Some people are not fully aware of the essence of the National Investment Funds [NFI] program. The utopian idea of general enfranchisement also is undefined. As a result, we have a situation where the author of the referendum is asking about something that he himself is unable to determine. Society will have to voice its opinion whether it is for general enfranchisement, NFI extension, and compensating pensioners. How are they supposed to do it inasmuch as, in reality, they lack the knowledge?

Furthermore, the reaction to the referendum is quite opposite the expected one. In many companies, the acceleration of privatization is used as a tool to make the process irreversible. It is to secure the company against the next big economic experiment, which the general enfranchisement might be.

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Romania: New Envoy to U.S. Outlines Principal Goals

AU2501124096 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 19 Jan 96 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with Mircea Geoana, ambassador to the United States, by Carmen Radulescu; place and date not given: "There Is a New and Extremely Favorable Breeze in Our Relations With the Principal Power of the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Radulescu] It is no secret that our new ambassador to Washington is Mr. Mircea Geoana. I am pleased that Romania will be represented in the United States by a person belonging to the "new wave," but at the same time I will miss your news conferences [as Foreign Ministry spokesman], which were full of substance. What are your feelings now before leaving to take over this extremely important but also quite difficult office?

[Geoana] Please allow me first to thank you for your words of appreciation, especially since I consider my relations with the press and correspondents a special aspect of my diplomatic career. Ensuring as much openness as possible and offering the press genuine insights have been and are still one of my preoccupations. As a matter of fact, this is characteristic of our Foreign Ministry.

To answer your question—obviously, I am deeply moved, but at the same time I also feel "challenged" in a good sense because I want to do my very best in the capital city, which is so important for our country, something that will last for years.

[Radulescu] This means that you will be pursuing certain goals that you have probably already set for yourself....

[Geoana] Yes, of course. As I said in one of my recent statements to you, we hope that our relations with the United States will turn into a long-term alliance. Rest assured that I will do my best to achieve this, especially considering that the two visits paid there last autumn by Romanian President Ion Iliescu relaunched our political, economic, and military relations. There is now a new and extremely favorable breeze in our relations with the principal power of the world. Furthermore, another important objective of ours—of Romania and, in a mandatory way, our ministry—is to obtain the most-favored-nation status for an unlimited period of time.

[Radulescu] President Clinton recently recommended this to Congress....

[Geoana] That is correct. As I said, the achievement of this goal is not just an economic or trade priority of our country—because we are already benefiting from the advantages of the status—but we are rather interested in the political dimension of such an "acknowledgment." This would also give Romanian-U.S. economic and trade relations a new consistency, which would genuinely consecrate the long-term strengthening of our relations.

Furthermore, we want to strengthen Romanian-U.S. relations as partners and allies in every dimension. Achieving partnership and alliance relations with the United States represents, I believe, the answer to many of our current political, security, and economic concerns, and it is also an important "argument" for us in the "race" for integration within euro-atlantic bodies, especially NATO.

Together with the entire team of our ministry, I will strive to make Romania better known in the United States.

[Radulescu] I would like to ask you more questions, but I know that you are pressed for time since you have to hurry to the joint news conference—this is a first in Romanian-U.S. relations—with Mr. Alfred Moses, ambassador of the United States in Bucharest. I wish you success in making the most of the fund of goodwill that Romania has with the United States, which you mentioned to me during our recent interview. We wish you much success!

[Geoana] Thank you.

Romania: Journalist Gets Prison Term for Calumny

96P20235A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Dec 95 p 8

[MEDIAFAX article: "A Suceava Journalist Is Sentenced to Three Months in Prison for Calumny"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday [5 December], Suceava journalist Doina Boghean was informed by the Suceava court that she had been sentenced to three months in prison for the infraction of calumny, as specified in Article 206 of the Penal Code, and that she had to pay 5,000 lei in court expenses. Boghean was brought to court by the former mayor of Dumbraveni Commune in Suceava, Mihai Sandu, after she had published in the press, in November and December 1993, two articles dealing with the mayor's abuse of power. The Suceava prefect's office examined the accusations brought against the mayor, calling for his suspension, and later, on the basis of the evidence, the government fired Mihai Sandu. Sandu appealed the government's decision in the court but he lost his case and the decision to dismiss him remains in effect. Doina Boghean said that she intends to appeal the sentence given to her by the Suceava court.

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Slovenia: Romania's PM Visits To Discuss Trade

AU2401163896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, accompanied by a rather sizable economic delegation, is paying an official visit to Slovenia at the invitation of Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek.

The prime ministers stated at the news conference today that there were no problems between the countries. Romania and Slovenia both favor the speediest possible integration with the European Union. Here is a report by Biserka Povse Tasic.

[Begin recording] Romania is also interesting for Slovenia in the political sense as an EU associate member and current chairman of the regional organization of the Black Sea countries. Official Bucharest would like to become a member of CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Agreement], which Slovenia has already succeeded in joining, by autumn.

The countries do not have any open problems. The agreements signed today, for example, on promotion and protection of investments and a letter of intentions for the earliest possible signing of a free trade agreement are supposed to create a sound legal basis for the deepening of economic cooperation. Compensation deals have prevailed so far while the scope of trade was modest. According to Slovene data, exports and imports were 60 percent covered over the past 11 months, which means that we exported $19 million worth of goods to Romania and imported $31 million worth of goods. The re-export of Romanian goods is one of the unique traits that Romanian data, which indicate a complete balancing of exports with imports, do not take into account.

Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu spoke in favor of the formation of mixed companies and cooperation in reconstructing damaged Bosnia-Herzegovina and here encountered the understanding of his host, Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek. The two statesmen also expressed the hope that modest trade, which amounted to $50 million according to the Slovene indicators, will shortly double if not even treble. [end recording]

Let us also add that Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu was also received by President Milan Kucan today.

Slovenia: 1996 Budget Passed Within Proposed Limits

AU2001200396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday deputies finally passed the 1996 budget yesterday. The apportionment of money in the state treasury will be more or less as proposed by the government coalition. The only difference is that because of the adoption of some amendments the budgetary expenditures will increase by 240 million Slovene tolars. However, the budget story is not over yet, our correspondent Suzana Kos says:

[Begin recording] A lot still needs to be done before all the t's are crossed and the i's are dotted in the budget story. First, the parliament has to pass the law on implementing the budget, which, because of the coalition's incapability and postponing decisions, regulates matters that it otherwise probably would not. It thus regulates reductions in national programs and special development laws. If these were all to be fully implemented, the public expenditure would soar well over 50 percent of the GDP this year, while our public debt would double in a few years. This law, among other things, also regulates state loans for the requirements of the pension treasury.

The deputies will also tackle two other important budget-related laws over the next few days. First is a proposal to reduce the employers' rate of contribution. If this rate is truly lowered by 2.7 percent and if the parliament postpones the decision to suspend retroactive pension adjustments, the government will have to find additional financial sources to ensure solvency of the pension fund treasury. According to Finance Ministry's latest calculations, if everything remains the same in the realm of pensions, an additional 20 billion tolars will have to be found.

Minister Gaspari was determined yesterday to seek this money not from the state treasury but from capital in the pension fund. Therefore, to resolve a problem that the political parties do not dare tackle in the short term before the elections, the critics of this proposal say the minister wants to raid the fund that should be left for us, the pensioners of the future, because otherwise nothing will be left from the money we are currently contributing from our salaries. [end recording]

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Federal

FRY: Deputy PM Discusses Hague Tribunal, Parliament

LD2401223496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1917 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Uros Klikovac said on Wednesday that Yugoslavia's position towards the Hague-based international tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia had not changed, but that the fact that the institution existed and operated could not be ignored.

Commenting on a meeting with President of the Tribunal Antonio Cassese, Klikovac said that Yugoslavia had laws regulating relations with international courts and forms of cooperation with foreign countries, but that they did not allow that Yugoslav citizens be handed over to the tribunal.

Klikovac said that if Yugoslav authorities found out that there were people who violated the international humanitarian law, they would be prosecuted by Yugoslav competent authorities. Criminal proceedings against five such persons are in progress in Yugoslavia.

Under its work programme adopted last week, the government should draw up and submit 117 bills to the Yugoslav parliament, Klikovac said.

Parliament is reviewing a group of important systemic bills, including the bills on enterprises, basic taxation system, basic labour relations, basic retirement and disabled insurance, political parties, citizenship and amendments to the law on trade.

Klikovac said that in addition to preparing bills, the Yugoslav government would also deal with economic and foreign trade issues and relations with foreign countries.

All activities regarding foreign trade issues and relations with foreign countries will be directed towards Yugoslavia's reintegration into the international community, primarily international orgaizations such as the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization.

Klikovac said that the restoration and normalization of relations with the former Yugoslav republics was also an important task. It is especially important to regulate the issue of Yugoslavia's continuity, succession, division of debts and assets, and return of refugees, he added.

FRY: Kontic, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Meet

LD2401212596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Dr. Radoje Kontic, prime minister of the Federal Republic Yugoslavia, today received Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko, who is paying an official visit to Yugoslavia.

In cordial and amicable talks their common interests were confirmed, as was the readiness of both Yugoslavia and Ukraine to renew, improve and develop bilateral relations and intensify high- level contacts between the two states, the Federal Secretariat for Information reports. [passage omitted]

Kontic pointed out that Ukraine was one of Yugoslavia's most important economic partners. It is estimated that the value of trade between the two countries could soon exceed two billion dollars. For this reason it was agreed that the implementation of basic economic agreements and the creation of an intergovernmental Yugoslav-Ukrainian commission for trade and economic cooperation should be accelerated, the Federal Secretariat for Information's statement ends.

FRY: Milutinovic, Ukrainian FM Hold Talks

LD2401192596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Talks were held today in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs between Milan Milutinovic, Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, and Gennadiy Udovenko, the Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs, who is heading a several-member delegation on an official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In frank talks which passed in a friendly atmosphere, both sides expressed their satisfaction at the continuity of the political dialogue between the two countries and the development of cooperation, which is characterized by full mutual trust and friendship.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the joint assessment was that there is significant mutual interest in, and very favorable conditions for, the more rapid development of bilateral cooperation, especially in the fields of trade, industrial cooperation deals, joint ventures, communications, agriculture, and in the fields of culture, science and education. [passage omitted]

During the afternoon the two ministers signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of education, culture, and sports and a protocol on cooperation between the foreign affairs departments.

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FRY: Opposition Leader Protests Arrests, Mobilization

LD2401231996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Jan (SRNA/Beta)—Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], protested strongly today in his letter to Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic against "the arrests and forced mobilization" of members of his party.

He claims that a police patrol arrested Branislav Ivanovic, president of the SPO regional committee for the area of Raska, and took him to a military barracks in Novi Pazar. He also claims many SPO officials and members are being sent for three-month military exercises.

Draskovic demanded that Ivanovic be released immediately and that the Yugoslav Army halt its forced mobilization of SPO members and supporters.

"The Yugoslav Army must be a state army, not the armed service of the governing party and family," Draskovic says in the letter. [passage omitted]

The letter says: Despots who used the army and tanks against the youth of Belgrade and Serbia on 9 March 1991 still keep issuing orders to the army to arrest and mobilize not the opponents of that same army, but the opponents of despotism.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic, OSCE Mission Leader Hold Talks

LD2401222296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 January (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this afternoon received Ambassador Robert Frowick, head of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and his colleagues.

In the talks, which passed off in an atmosphere of openness, support was expressed for the OSCE's efforts toward contributing to the successful implementation of the peace agreement on Bosnia, and especially the safeguarding and protection of human and civil rights, which are guaranteed by this organization.

Most attention was devoted to current civilian issues in the peace plan, and especially efforts to hold elections within the planned timescale in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and in the Muslim- Croat federation, something which, in the view of President Milosevic, is the most rapid road to the normalization of the situation, including the process of returning refugees to their homes.

It was said that the international community should concentrate its efforts on speeding up the resolution of open civilian issues, which also implies speeding up the provision of assistance for the economic recovery of this area. [passage omitted]

Serbia: JUL Criticizes Muslim 'Right Wingers'

AU2401163796 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Municipal Council of the Novi Pazar branch of the Yugoslav Left [JUL] has condemned the militant approach of the Muslim right wingers who are calling for civic disobedience ranging from ignoring the legitimate state and its institutions to threats of forceful secession.

Today, after the signing of peace, these are just methods aimed at achieving only slightly modified goals that have even been revised, reads the statement issued by the JUL Municipal Council in Novi Pazar.

In addition to a special status for Sandzak and the international community's permanent guarantees, the Muslim right wingers are requesting—as an interim solution—dual citizenship, the right to vote in Serbia and Bosnia, and so forth. They call on international institutions, states, and individuals to guarantee rights and liberties in the area. They travel worldwide, particularly to Turkey and Sarajevo, from where they recently brought back the Bosnian recipe for the solution of the Sandzak problem, the JUL Municipal Council in Novi Pazar warns.

Of course, the Serbian right wingers are not lagging behind. Deeply dissatisfied with the Dayton peace, they have gladly accepted the Bosnian recipe that should regulate interethnic relations in the region, since they believe that coexistence is not possible. That is why nationalist leaders are constantly maintaining tension in interethnic relations, because without nationalism they would not exist, the Novi Pazar branch of JUL has warned.

It is pertinent to inquire at this point why the ruling party's municipal leadership failed to conduct an active political struggle against rightist and nationalistic forces in both nations, and why it has allowed this political arena to become saturated with destructive nationalism, while for years they failed to conduct a policy that would (?support) the disoriented, confused, and frightened citizens and would lead them out of the nightmare of war. Why did the Socialist Party of Serbia's [SPS] municipal organization not take on this role, and

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can these same people now change the current political practice that, in Sandzak, was not in line with the SPS program, which calls for a struggle against nationalism. This is stated in the statement issued by the JUL Municipal Council in Novi Pazar.

Serbia: Disarmament in Former SFRY Region Viewed

AU2501080596 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 96 p 5

[Commentary by Milan Bozokin: "Tanks for Scrap"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreement on peace in Bosnia- Herzegovina, which was preliminarily signed in Dayton on 21 November, and made official on 14 December in Paris last year, obliges the countries in the region, primarily those who were until recently parties to the conflict, to establish mutual measures for the consolidation of trust and control of armaments. In other words, the Dayton-Paris agreements oblige the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the Serb Republic [RS], and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to partially disarm.

Annex 1-B of the Dayton Agreement allows the signatories a period of 180 days to decide among themselves how to limit the number of tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery pieces, fighter bombers, and helicopters. If the FRY, Croatia, the RS, and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina fail to agree among themselves, then the 5:2:2 Dayton formula will be implemented. This means that Yugoslavia will have to decrease its military potential by 25 percent in relation to its present level, while Croatia and Bosnia- Herzegovina will have the right to have at most 30 percent of the FRY's current level. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ratio between the Serb and Muslim-Croat entity should be 2:1, which means that the Muslim-Croat Federation could have double the amount of arms than the RS.

How To Coordinate Military Balance

This is what a simplified calculation looks like: if Yugoslavia has the right to 100 tanks, then Croatia can have 40 tanks at most; this is also true for both armies in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Serb and Croatian-Muslim.

The reduction of forces and armaments in the region of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY] should represent the initial phase of military balance at the wider regional level, that is, in the Balkans and southern Europe. The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty should serve as a basis for this. The agreement was signed by 22 countries, members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, at the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] summit in Paris in November 1990. The agreement specifies the permitted level of armaments for each of the signatories, depending on the size of its population, territory, and strategic significance. Countries which did not belong to either bloc, and that includes the then SFRY, were not included in the agreement, which, experts claim, has put them in a difficult situation today.

Disarmament measures based on the Dayton Agreement were the topic of the first meeting held in Bonn on 18 December 1995. The topic is currently being discussed in Vienna. The meeting's first success is considered to be the fact that the warring sides in Bosnia- Herzegovina have exchanged initial information on military potential, and they have reached an agreement on opening liaison offices.

Measures for the consolidation of trust entail mutual informing on the size of the arsenals, maneuvers, military budgets, and the like. It is the international community's obvious intent to establish in the region of the former Yugoslavia a balance in armaments, so that no one would have a dominant military role.

Croatian Deceit

The military portion of the "Dayton Package" envisages for the FRY, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina (with entities) to report their military potential to the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe]. Croatia already did so in December, when it reported 176 tanks, 1,098 artillery pieces, 147 anti-armor Maljutka systems, and two rocket gunboats. However, the Croatian Army's list does not include multiple rocket launchers, MiG-21 fighter bombers, and combat helicopters which are known to be a part of the Croatian troops' arsenal. Recently, information was published that Croatia had procured two Russian MiG-29 planes, which it bought during the arms embargo; moreover, the first attack submarine was constructed in Split.

The disparity between what Croatia "admitted to", and what it actually possesses is easily explained: only offensive arms that are immediately ready for use are reported to the OSCE. Therefore, the arsenal that is in storage or is being overhauled, even though it could be ready for use within 24 hours, is not entered into OSCE forms.

The situation with Croatia is, however, significantly different. Several sources claim that Croatia last year spent more on arms than the former SFRY spent in a whole year. The London Military Almanac cites much higher figures. The magazine has published the information that Croatia has 115,000 troops as part of its permanent force, 220,000 troops in reserve, 650 major

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combat tanks, 850 artillery pieces, 72 combat aircraft, and 45 warships.

It is assessed that the Muslim army in Bosnia-Herzegovina has 31 tanks, 35 armored personnel carriers, some 100 cannons and howitzers, five helicopters, and two 262-mm multiple rocket launchers. The RS army has 370 tanks, 275 armored personnel carriers, 900 large caliber mortars, 20 combat aircraft, and 24 helicopters, as well as surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles. The army of the Bosnian Croats—the Croatian Defense Council—has 100 tanks, 80 armored personnel carriers, 200 artillery pieces, 300 mortars, 30 multiple rocket launchers, and CA- 7, 14 and 16, surface-to-air rockets. [sentence as published]

If an agreement is not reached in negotiations in Vienna, the RS could be in great danger because the situation will lead to a crucial change in the ratio of power in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the detriment of the RS. If the permitted quantity of arms is divided according to the ratio 2 for the Muslim-Croat Federation and 1 for the RS, this could encourage the forces of the Federation to undertake military actions against the RS once NATO withdraws.

Finally, from the aspect of regional stability, there would be no point in decreasing armaments in only one limited region like the former SFRY, while the rest of the area would remain unchanged. This would lead to new imbalances. A broader regional balance has not been worked out, but this does not mean that it has been forgotten. The decreasing of arms in the area was implemented pursuant to the 1990 agreement and was completed in November 1995. In the past five years, the European members of NATO and the former Warsaw Pact eliminated a total of 50,000 units of conventional heavy arms and aircraft. For example, Romania alone destroyed 65 percent of its tanks.

Serbia: Politics Said Blocking Phone Links to Bosnia

AU2401163496 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by V.Mt.: "Politicians To Approve 'Hello'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In spite of certain announcements, telephone links between the FRY and Bosnia-Herzegovina have still not been established; Serbia's PTT [Post, Telegraph, Telephone] claims that a political decision is needed for this.

All technical conditions for establishing telephone links have been met, but there are obstacles of a political nature that are in the jurisdiction of the federal government, that is, the Ministry for Traffic and Communications, the PTT said.

Telephone links with Croatia are functioning, but overloaded lines make it difficult to get through. According to the PTT authorities, there are currently 80 lines between the FRY and Croatia, and they are inadequate to secure normal functioning of telephone traffic. The PTT advises all users in Yugoslavia to place calls to Croatia in the evening hours when the lines are not as overloaded.

Provisions of the Dayton Agreement envisage the normal functioning of telephone links between all former Yugoslav republics.

Serbia: DS Accuses Authorities of 'Political Trial'

LD2401235996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 24 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (SRNA/BETA)—The Democratic Party (DS) today accused the authorities in Serbia of putting pressure on its members and organizing a "political trial" of Milan Paroski [prominent member of the DS].

The DS statement says Paroski was summoned to appear in the District Court in Novi Sad tomorrow for taking part in last year's demonstrations in connection with the fall of Knin.

The proceedings were started because Paroski, according to a statement by the head of administration in the Belgrade Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ivan Maksimovic, shouted "red gang, traitors, fascists" and similar things during "an unannounced public gathering" in the center of Belgrade.

Since Paroski is to be put on trial just before the six-month deadline [for him to be brought to trial] expires, "it is obvious that the authorities in Serbia opted for this political trial because Paroski joined the Democratic Party," the DS statement reads.

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